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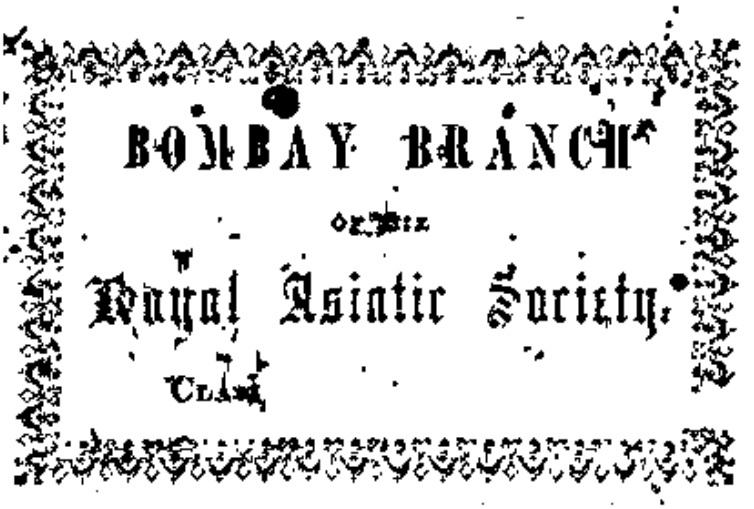

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JOURNAL

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

LATE EMBASSY TO CHINA;

COMPRISING

A CORRECT NARRATIVE OF THE PUBLIC TRANSACTIONS OF THE EMBASSY,

OF THE VOYAGE TO AND FROM CHINA,

AND OF

THE JOURNEY FROM THE MOUTH OF THE PEI-HO TO THE RETURN TO CANTON.

88461

BY HENRY ELLIS,

THIRD COMMISSIONER OF THE EMBASSY.

It is a strange thing, that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chance were better to be registered than observation: let DIARIES therefore be brought in use.—LORD BACON.

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1818.

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CHAPTER VI.

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NINETEENTH of October.—We left our anchorage at daylight, though the wind still continues unfavourable. With poles and sweeps they succeeded in getting the boats round the point, and launching us into the Yang-tse-kiang. About nine we

passed an island, and kept close to the left bank, covered with high rushes. At twelve the river was divided into two branches; we followed the smaller, called Quang-jee-keang: a village on the bank, called also Quang-jee. At five we saw the tower of I-tching-shien. We afterwards passed some junks of peculiar construction, the sterns being thirty feet high, and the bows about ten feet lower; there were ladders to assist the crew in ascending and descending. These vessels are used for conveying salt, and the object of the great height in the stern seems to be to keep the salt above the water-mark, and at the bow to assist the men in poling. The range of mountains, already mentioned, has continued along the course of the river on the southern or right bank. Our general course to-day has been W. S. W.

20th of October.—We anchored at eight o'clock yesterday evening, and proceeded at daylight along the suburb of I-ching-shien, containing substantial white-washed houses, the long island still on our left. On this island, opposite to the town, were some extensive gardens belonging to a rich

salt merchant. At half past nine, we passed a canal or branch on the left, called Chah-kho, and soon after anchored near a small island situated at the termination of the larger: here we were informed we should remain until the wind proved favourable, so that our moving was only a desperate effort to free the remains of Kwa-choo from such troublesome visitors. Our journey yesterday was sixteen miles, and effected with great labour to the crews and the few trackers attached to the boats.

The edict * respecting the treatment of the embassy was this day communicated, through a private channel, to Mr. Morrison; this document, though, according to Chinese notions, it may be considered favourable, carries with it such absurd pretensions of superiority, and marks such an utter indifference to the real rank and character of the embassy, that it requires to be actually in China, not to view it as an additional insult. It commences by an explanation of the occurrences at Yuen-min-yuen, not so satisfactory as that in

* Vide Appendix, No. 8.

the Pekin Gazette, but upon the same principles. It is attributed to the absence of our dresses of ceremony, and to Ho not making known the circumstances which produced the deficiency in the equipment. The alleged sickness is stated to be a pretext. It then adverts to the exchange of presents at Tong-chow, attributing it to the Emperor's reluctance "altogether" to refuse our expression of devotedness. The exchange itself is described as "giving* much and receiving little." An allusion is made to the Embassador's gratitude on the occasion, and to his expressions of fear and repentance. The treatment of the embassy is ordered to be free from insult and contempt, and suitable to a foreign embassy. Precautions are, however, directed to be used to prevent any landing to cause disturbance. The general character of this treatment is represented as an union of soothing and controlling, calculated to produce awe and gratitude in the persons composing the embassy. From a remark respecting the Embassador's

* This is an ethical maxim of Confucius, much quoted by the Chinese.

peaceable conduct through Chee-le, it may be considered that this edict was issued subsequent to Chang's report. If any doubts remained as to the impolicy of addressing the Emperor, this edict must have removed them, as neither honour nor advantage can be gained by the receipt of edicts couched in such language; and it would be futile to expect any other, even when directly addressed to the Embassador.

On re-entering the main stream, the distance from bank to bank could not be less than three quarters of a mile. We sailed with a fine breeze, and the number of boats scattered over the river, whose waters almost formed waves, rendered the scene very striking; the junks lay over so much, that it required but little effort of imagination to fancy ourselves at sea; the river widened as we advanced to one mile and a half.—At five. Saw on a mountain the Pauo-ta, or tower of Lew-ko-hien, on the right bank, distant four miles; and shortly after passed a navigable branch, called the Tai-ho, leading to the town where the tower is situated; on the op-

posite bank another hill, with a temple dedicated to Kwan-yin, was visible, near which we are to anchor.

21st of October.—We found ourselves in the morning off the rock Pa-tou-shan, a short distance in advance of Kwan-yin-mun: the river is here again divided by an island, and we seem nearly at the termination of the range of mountains. The rock of Pa-tou-shan is very remarkable, as being a large mass of pudding-stone, the base a friable sand-stone, in which lumps of quartz and other stones are embedded; it is in a rapid state of disintegration. There is another rock at a short distance, called Yen-tze-shan, or the Swallow-hill, forming an abrupt bank to the river; the strata were vertical, but as I did not land, I do not pretend to say what may be its composition. The Yen-tze was covered with profusion of lichens, and exhibited equally strong marks of rapid and progressive disintegration. Yen-tze-shan was, as we afterwards learnt, the favourite resort of Kang-hi and of Kien-lung.

A communication was received early in the morning, requesting that the persons

composing the embassy would not indulge in their usual excursions, as the Viceroy of the province was hourly expected to pay the Chin-chae a visit. The request was attended to, for a refusal, however justifiable, could only have led to unpleasant consequences. As, however, I had fortunately set out on my rambles before the notification was made, I had thereby an opportunity of seeing the meeting between the Chin-chae and the Viceroy, interesting from its having been looked forward to as the test of Kwang's assertions respecting the superiority of his station as Chin-chae; the event certainly proved the truth of his statement. The Viceroy came in his robes of ceremony, and was received by Kwang in his travelling dress; the Chin-chae scarcely went further from his boat to meet him, than when visited by Lord Amherst. They both stooped, almost kneeling, and the Viceroy refused to precede Kwang in entering the boat; there could be no doubt that the Viceroy considered Kwang as his superior in office for the time. The Viceroy sent presents of provisions, and made some difficulty in ac-

cepting the dried fruits offered in return. Lord Amherst sent his card to the Viceroy, which was immediately returned in conformity with Chinese politeness, which means thereby to convey, that the person who receives the card is not of sufficient rank to retain it.

His Excellency, as a sort of counterpoise to the parading backwards and forwards of the Mandarins in their dresses of ceremony, on the occasion of the arrival of the Viceroy, and his meeting with the Chinchaè, while no notice was taken of the embassy, ordered the guard and band to be drawn up for the purpose of inspection. A sensation was evidently excited, and the general, Wang, hastened to the parade as if to make a reconnoissance; this completed, he retired. Our departure was probably hastened by the exhibition, for, on Lord Amherst's returning to his boat, the loos were struck, a signal for unmooring. The Viceroy sent a message to say, that he was at the moment setting out to pay his respects to Lord Amherst, but that he must now defer his visit till the next anchorage.

A stone tablet, erected at the foot of the Pa-tou-shan, bears an inscription, dated the 7th year of Kien-lung, recommending all boats to anchor there at night, as there are rocks in this part of the river, rendering the passage extremely dangerous. On a face of this rock there is another inscription, painted in large letters, announcing that sham-shoo and fruits are sold there.

Leaving the anchorage at half past twelve, we kept near the bank on our left. From the ruined temple on the abrupt rock already mentioned the city of Nankin is probably visible. Near this rock there was a building supported on pillars, prettily situated on a ragged projection; the whole country, from the various elevation of the lower hills, all well wooded, and the different points of view which they presented, was extremely picturesque; the more distant mountains cease near this point, but another range of hills extend nearly parallel to the river.—At four o'clock. The tower of Poo-kou-hien, of five stories, was visible on a hill to our right, and nearly at the same time the walls of Kiang-poo-hien were pointed out to us.

—At five. We saw the walls of Nankin skirting a high hill, called Sze-tze-shan, or Lion-hill, included within their circuit. We passed a bridge with a large single arch, quite covered with verdure, upon which was something looking like a tomb. A crowd was collected on the bridge, like ourselves, straining their eyes to catch the passing novelties.—At six. Our boats anchored on the right bank opposite to a low white building: a line of soldiers, the majority in complete armour, or rather long studded dresses: these may be compared to the men at arms of the chivalrous times, as being intended to bear down opposition by their weight: their arms were swords and bows; the remainder had only a helmet and studded jacket; some few, had match-locks.

22d of October.—I walked through the suburb, near which we are anchored; the streets are paved, but the shops of an inferior description, evidently intended to supply the wants of the boats at the anchorage. As elsewhere in China, the number of public eating-houses seem to exceed that of private dwellings; and the

only local difference is, the quantity of ducks and geese, ready drest and glazed, exposed for sale. Vegetables were plentiful, principally turnips, radishes, and coarse greens. The principal manufactures in the city are crapes and silks.

A street leads from the river to the gate of the city, through which we were allowed to pass and ascend the hill on the left of the entrance, from which, the walls of the city, the celebrated porcelain tower, and two others of less consequence, are visible: the view is very extensive, and from the variety of the ground immediately below us, diversified with woods and buildings, contrasted with the range of mountains bounding the horizon, is truly striking. The course of the river, divided by an island at this point, is distinguishable, and still continues the great feature of the scene.

We may, I think, date our unrestrained liberty of excursion from this day, and consider it promoted by Lord Amherst's resistance to the attempt made by an inferior Mandarin, to exclude him from passing through the gate, although several others had been previously admitted. Lord Am-

herst waited before the gate until an application to Kwang had produced an order for immediate admission, of which a civil Mandarin and Wang, the general officer in attendance, were the bearers.

Nankin (now called Kian-ning-foo) is rapidly decaying, but the Yang-tse-kiang, upon whose banks it is situated, and to which it originally owed its greatness, still rolls his mighty waters, undiminished by foreign conquest, and unaffected by subverted empire. The inhabited part of the town is twenty lees from the gate through which we entered; the intervening space, though still crossed by paved roads, being occupied in gardens and bamboo groves, with few houses interspersed. This gate is a simple archway thirty-five paces broad, the height of the wall forty feet, its width seventeen. Near the gate are two large temples; that dedicated to Kwan-yin, and called Tsing-hai-tze, or quiet sea college, is interesting from the superior execution of the figures of Chinese philosophers and saints surrounding the great hall; though not less than twenty in number, they were all in different attitudes, and yet

all highly expressive; two looked, both in features and dress, not unlike Roman sages. The power of one was marked by a wild beast in the act of crouching at his feet, as if awed by his sanctity; the grey eyebrows of another were represented grown to such enormous length as to require to be supported by his hands: this probably is intended to commemorate some act of devout penance analogous to the actions of the Hindoo Jogees. A skreen, representing Kwan-yin, surrounded by the birds of the air and beasts of the field, looked to me as if telling the story of the creation, when all living things were produced by the Universal Mother. Some metal vases, intended for burning incense, attracted our notice from the elegance of their form and execution: one of them much resembled the Etruscan. An inscription stated that they were the work of a sage who lived two hundred and fifty years ago, and had, it is said, for the promotion of embassies to China, travelled into India, and other countries to the west. Near this temple is a public vapour-bath, called, or rather miscalled, the bath of fragrant wa-

ter, where dirty Chinese may be stewed clean for ten chens, or three farthings: the bath is a small room of one hundred feet area, divided into four compartments, and paved with coarse marble: the heat is considerable, and as the number admitted into the bath has no limits but the capacity of the area, the stench is excessive; altogether, I thought it the most disgusting cleansing apparatus I had ever seen, and worthy of this nasty nation.

Lord Amherst, since our arrival at this anchorage, has received through Wang a message from the Viceroy expressing regret, that his being compelled suddenly to visit another part of the province, would deprive him of the pleasure he had anticipated in calling upon his lordship. Having been at Canton, the Viceroy said that he fully appreciated the English nation, and was anxious to give every effect to the Emperor's edicts for the proper treatment of the embassy; that he had accordingly given the most precise orders for the supply of boats and every thing that might be required. This is so far satisfactory as it manifests a conviction on the part of the

Viceroy that some apology was necessary. Lord Amherst, from hints that had been thrown out some time since, having reason to imagine that the Viceroy might be deterred from proposing a meeting in consequence of his doubts whether Lord Amherst would pay the first visit, took this opportunity of conveying through Wang his willingness to give up this point. Some idea seemed to exist, that under these circumstances a meeting might take place; the event, however, proved otherwise.

23rd of October.—Three gentlemen of the embassy and myself succeeded in passing completely through the uninhabited part of the city of Nankin, and reaching the gateway visible from the Lion hill; our object was to have penetrated through the streets to the Porcelain Tower, apparently distant two miles; to this, however, the soldiers who accompanied us, and who, from the willingness in allowing us to proceed thus far, were entitled to consideration, made so many objections that we desisted, and contented ourselves with proceeding to a temple on a neighbouring hill, from which we had a very complete view

of the city. We observed a triple wall, not, however, completely surrounding the city. The gateway which we had just quitted would seem to have belonged to the second wall, that in this place had entirely disappeared. The inhabited part of the city of Nankin is situated towards the angle of the mountains, and even within its precincts contains many gardens. I observed four principal streets intersected at right angles by smaller; through one of the larger a narrow canal flows, crossed at intervals by bridges of a single arch; the streets were not spacious, but had an appearance of unusual cleanliness. Another gateway, and the Porcelain Tower itself, are the only buildings of sufficient height to fix the eye. Our elevated position at the entrance of the temple attracted the notice of the inhabitants, and we perceived a tide of population flowing from the city towards us. We at this moment ascertained that the distance either from the gateway or the temple hill to the streets was scarcely a quarter of a mile, so that if we had at once proceeded to the streets we might have effected our object before the

crowd collected; as it was, we were obliged to make all haste in using our eyes before we were overwhelmed. Unfortunately we had not brought a telescope with us, which deprived us of the advantage that we otherwise should have derived from our proximity to the Porcelain Tower.

This building has been described by so many authors in all languages, that it would be equally useless and unpleasant both to myself, and to those who may chance to toil through these pages, to make extracts. My own observation only extends thus far, that it is octagonal, of nine stories; of considerable height in proportion to its base, with a ball at the very summit, said to be gold, but probably only gilt, resting immediately upon a pinnacle with several rings round it. The colour is white, and the cornices appear plain. Its Chinese name is Lew-lee-Paou-ta or Pao-ling-tzu, and it is said to have occupied nineteen years in building, and to have cost twenty-four hundred thousand taels, or eight hundred thousand pounds of money. The date answers to A. D. 1411. I should suppose, judging from Lin-tsin tower, that the facing

is probably white tile, to which the title of porcelain has been given, either by Chinese vanity or European exaggeration. The temple near which we stood is remarkable for two colossal dragons winding round the pillars, mentioned, I believe, by old travellers.

I was much pleased with the whole scene; the area under our view could not be less than thirty miles, throughout diversified with groves, houses, cultivation, and hills; this expanse might be said to be enclosed within the exterior wall, and formed an irregular polygon. The horizon was bounded by mountains, and by the waters of the Yang-tsę-kiang. Our gratification was not a little heightened by the thought that we were the first Europeans in their national dresses who had been so near this city for more than a century. The crowd from hundreds was now swelling to thousands, and we were compelled reluctantly to abandon the prospect, that had just opened, of accomplishing the chief purpose of our excursion. After a fruitless attempt to visit two large temples near our position, to one of which a tower of five

stories was attached, we turned our faces homewards, still having great reason to be satisfied with our achievement. The distance from the outer gateway to that standing by itself is four miles, giving six for the distance to the tower, which is situated close to, but outside of the city wall. The architecture of this second gate was the same as that of the other cities we had seen, but it stands so much alone, without the least trace of wall near it, that some doubt may be entertained whether it be not some triumphal monument. The whole space through which we passed from gate to gate was crossed by paved roads, one of which leading from the outer gate bore marks of having been a street; it is, however, extremely improbable that the whole area was ever built upon, yet we may readily imagine that it was crowded with villas, and that princes and nobles enjoyed the fine climate of this neighbourhood in luxurious indolence, where at present the peasants, at long intervals, working in their small garden, are the only remains of population. The pavement here,

as I have observed elsewhere, remains the record of former greatness.

In viewing this city, striking from its situation and extent, and important from its having been the capital of an immense empire, I felt most forcibly the deficiency of interest in every thing relating to China, from the whole being unconnected with classical or chivalrous recollections. Here are no temples, once decorated, and still bearing marks of the genius of Phidias and Praxiteles; no sites of forums once filled with the eloquence of Cicero or Demosthenes, no plains once stained with the sacred blood of patriots and heroes; no, it is antiquity without dignity or veneration, and continuous civilization without generosity or refinement.

24th of October.—We left our anchorage about nine o'clock, with a strong north-west wind, that had given a wintry feeling to the climate; we soon cleared the island, and re-entered the main stream, keeping to the right bank. The pagoda of Poo-kou-hien was behind us, and the walls of Kiang-poo-hien extended along some low

hills a little to the southward; our progress was very slow, the wind keeping scant, and the junks not advancing more than one mile and a half an hour. At about four miles distance from the suburb of Nankin we passed a cut, navigable for small boats to the very streets of the town. The pagoda was visible throughout the day, and from its tapering shape contrasted with the long building near it, looked not unlike an immense spire attached to a small parish church. We anchored on the right bank, opposite some large huts made of the reeds growing on the bank; these reeds are of great length, many being eighteen feet; they are used for fuel, embankments, and in making coarse mats. The boats have been very irregular in their arrival at this anchorage, some reaching it four hours before the remainder. The distance has not exceeded eight or ten miles. The river is here again divided by islands, the main stream recommencing a little higher up.

25th of October.—The wind being foul, we remained at this anchorage, Swan-che-

tze or Koong-tze-chow. On walking higher up the bank I observed a more extensive dwelling, made of the reeds mentioned yesterday, with a portico of the same materials. The peasants here we had all occasion to think less civil than elsewhere. Some of the Mandarins also have been found disinclined to friendly communication, since the Viceroy left us without visiting Lord Amherst. I confess that hitherto I have found the lower orders universally well behaved and good-humoured. The Chinese are naturally cheerful, and from this circumstance, with ready submission to authority, must be governed with more facility than any other nation.

Lord Amherst had a long visit from Kwang, in the course of which he was unusually communicative; the conversation turned upon the public life of the Emperor. The Son of Heaven is the victim of ceremony; he is not allowed to lean back in public, to smoke, to change his dress, or in fact to indulge in the least relaxation from the mere business of representation. It would seem, that while the

great support of his authority is the despotism of manner, he himself is bound with the same chain that holds together the political machine; he only knows freedom in his inner apartments, where probably he consoles himself for public privations, by throwing aside the observance of decency and dignity. Kwang said that there was every appearance of the continued unfavourable wind defeating the Emperor's kind intentions in selecting the shortest route for the return of the embassy; the length of time we had been absent from our homes had induced his Imperial Majesty to determine, that our return should not be unnecessarily delayed, by taking the circuitous route followed by the former embassy. There was, however, now little prospect of less time being consumed by us in the journey. The Chin-chae expressed a wish that his portrait should be taken by Mr. Havell: this circumstance is only important as shewing a greater disposition on his part to intimacy. We are to enter the district of Gan-hwuy, formerly one of the three divisions of this province, to-morrow, and the judge, acting also as

treasurer, who is to take charge of the supplies, is already here.

26th of October.—We left the anchorage at daylight with a strong fair wind; the breadth * of the river is not less than three, and in places four miles. The Yang-tze-kiang well deserves its appellation of Son of the Sea; were it not for the rivers of the new world, one might add the First-born of Ocean. There was wind enough to give the boats considerable motion, so as to produce sickness; in my case I found the waters of the son more troublesome than those of the father. We avoided generally the middle of the stream, and at first followed the left bank. The small village of Chee-ma-hoo, where we anchored, is on the right bank, distance seventy lees; ranges of mountains of various elevations have extended on both sides. I walked to the summit of a hill near the anchorage, forming part of a large natural embankment. The valley below was neatly cultivated with the cotton plant, beans, and other vegetables. Substantial farm-houses

* The missionaries estimate the width of the Yang-tze-kiang opposite Poo-koo-hien at one league.

prettily situated, with clumps of trees near them. Our researches for the brown cotton * have hitherto proved ineffectual.

27th of October. — After proceeding twenty lees, we anchored, after breakfast, at a small island opposite to the village of Chen-yu-tzu; our boats were moored to the island, in order, probably, to render our intercourse with the inhabitants less easy. Shortly after our arrival I set out, with some others, for Ho-chow, a walled city, situated about three miles from the river, on the left bank; a cut flows up to the town, navigable for small vessels: the country in the environs is well cultivated, principally cotton. The farm-houses are numerous and well built. A tower, of indifferent architecture, stands to the southward, immediately without the walls. In the town there is, with the exception of a temple dedicated to the Choong-wang, nothing worth seeing; the vessels, and general structure of this edifice, were not unlike those of Nankin. The outer court was surrounded by ten shrines, represent-

* Hibuscus religiosus.

ing the ten kings of hell in the act of punishing the guilty after death; the executioners had the heads of different animals, the remainder of their bodies human: few of these shrines, however, were perfect. A curious skreen of richly carved stone-work faced the entrance of another temple, approached by a paved road through py-loos. Wheelbarrows were in more general use here than I had yet observed; the coarse marble pavement was worn down by their track. As at Nankin, the wild fig grew up the gate, looking at a distance like ivy.

Some pillars in the temple reminded me of those in the suburb of Nankin, which I had forgotten to mention; the bases were decorated with a rich border of leaves, of good execution. On viewing the works of art of the Chinese, whether painting, drawing, engraving, sculpture, or architecture, I am surprised that they should have stopped where they have done; there were but few steps to make, and they would have got into the high road of good taste; as it is, they are grotesque and uselessly laborious. In our walk we passed

by the theatre or Sing-song: some actors, in their dresses, were at the door, as if ready to begin whenever required. A long placard, probably *les affiches*, was hung up opposite to the entrance. The streets were almost entirely composed of eating-houses: their number arises from the practise universally prevalent, of paying part of the wages of labourers by giving them a credit for their meals at an eating-house. Ho-chow * bears evident marks of decay, and of having been much more populous than at present: the circuit of the walls is from three to four miles. It has been said, that there is nothing new under the sun, certainly there is nothing new in China: on the contrary, every thing is old.

28th of October.—Wind being unfavourable, we continued at our anchorage. Walked again to Ho-chow, more for exercise than amusement. In this neighbourhood I have, for the first time, seen a flock of goats; the cattle we had before remarked were confined to those used in ploughing: buffaloes have also, within these

* Ho-chow is described by the earlier Missionaries as a place of great trade, remarkable for its ink and varnish.

few days, not been unfrequent; they are of a small species. The treasurer left us yesterday without paying Lord Amherst a farewell visit: some frivolous message, excusing himself on account of his sudden departure, was sent. This was accompanied by an apology from the acting treasurer of Gan-hwuy, for not paying his respects upon taking charge: these were, of course, mere pretexts. It is somewhat singular, that the military Mandarins, however high their rank, shew no disinclination to familiar intercourse, while the civil Mandarins, of the least importance, are most cautious in avoiding intimacy. The two last Chinese military officers have not seemed insensible to the great achievements of the Duke of Wellington, to which Lord Amherst took occasion, in conversation with the Mandarin Wang, to allude: and as he seemed interested in the subject, Lord Amherst gave him one of the medals containing a series of drawings representing his battles. Wellington luckily admits of tolerably correct enunciation in Chinese; being merely changed to Wee-ling-tong. Another region may thus have been added

to the great circuit of his well-deserved reputation.

29th of October.—Left our anchorage at daylight; about eight we saw two towers at T'ai-ping-foo, on the opposite bank, standing on a hill, one more resembling a pillar than a tower, the other of the usual form, but of inconsiderable height. T'ai-ping-foo appears further from the river than Ho-chow. Stream of considerable width; wind so scant as to compel us to use the poles and sweeps. The city of T'ai-ping-foo, we learnt, is situated behind the hill upon which one of the towers or paou-tas is built. As we came abreast of the hill, three towers were visible; one in tolerable repair. No place of any note, in the district of Gan-hwuy, appears to be without one or more of these towers, all intended as temples or shrines of particular deities. At three we passed, on our right, the mouth of the New-pa-kho, a small navigable river leading to Kan-shan-hien, distant fifty lees: we had before passed a smaller cut flowing from the same direction. There certainly never was a country, for the same extent, provided with such facilities for water communica-

tion as China; and to this may be attributed the omnipresence of the government, and the similarity of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, as well as the uniformity of the *local*.

At five we passed between two hills abruptly projecting into the river, the Tung-lang-shan and the See-lang-shan, signifying eastern and western pillar hills; we anchored near the latter. The Chin-chae, who had before good-humouredly noticed my practice of taking long walks, and my anxiety to explore, pointed to the top of the hill as I passed his boat; the challenge was of course accepted, and our party ascended the hill. About three-fourths of the way we reached a temple with several small dwellings round it, apparently intended for priests: near the temple itself there was a comfortable room, well calculated to accommodate a party of pleasure; from the inscriptions on the walls and on the rock, this place must be a spot of much resort—probably more to enjoy the prospect, than for purposes of devotion. A soapy, argillaceous stone, and loose sand-stone, compose the See-lang-shan; the view from the top was

very striking, as is, indeed, all the scenery on this river. The village at the foot of the hill is large, with paved streets. A small island, shaped like a crescent, stretched some distance across the river, immediately afterwards divided by a long island. The Yang-tse-kiang, through the greatest part of its course that we have hitherto pursued, flows between two ranges of mountains, and from its width, and the depth of water, may well be considered one of the noblest rivers of the old world.

30th of October.—On leaving See-lang-shan, we stood immediately across, following the smaller branch southward. About five miles, off another abrupt hill, See-ho-shan, we entered the united stream, and saw a pagoda and ruined tower to our left, on a hill commanding Woo-hoo-hien; the immediate banks, which for two or three days had been covered with reeds, have now much improved in appearance, the cultivation extending to the water's edge. Soldiers, in armour such as has been described, now frequently compose the guard at the military posts; these are large enough to make comfortable barracks for

the number usually drawn out. Large rafts of timber are dropped down the stream by means of anchors, sheds are erected on them, and when seen at distance they resemble small islands. I have observed lately a smaller kind of boat, something like the salt boats, but with a flat perpendicular piece immediately at the head.

Our present Mandarin is the first Chinese officer able to read and write with facility, who has been attached to the boat; he is, however, totally unprovided with books, and he passes his time in the same idle gaping as his predecessors: of his philosophy he truly makes no use. Whatever be the size or corpulency of Mandarins, they have generally a womanish appearance, I had written effeminate, but as they have nothing slight or delicate about them, the epithet would not be applicable; perhaps I should say a total absence of manliness. The sketch is from life: our Mandarin, six feet high, weighing at least fifteen stone, is before me, looking like an overeating cook or housekeeper. The range of mountains becomes less defined.

Twelve o'clock. We arrrived at Woo-hoo-shien; a narrow cut leads from the river to the city, and flows through the suburbs.

Woo-hoo-shien is a place of considerable trade, and we may consider ourselves fortunate in having been obliged to remain here during the day, on account of some pecuniary arrangements connected with our supplies. Our boats are moored opposite to the city, at the suburb, in which there are several good dwelling-houses, apparently belonging to persons of distinction. The shops within the city itself would not disgrace the Strand or Oxford-street: they were spacious, consisting of an inner and outward compartment, and were well supplied with articles of all kinds, both of raw and manufactured produce. The porcelain shops were particularly large, and contained great varieties of the manufacture. I unfortunately did not find my way to the main street, leading directly through the city, and not less than a mile in length, until dusk, when it was impossible to take the time required for selection and purchase. Several streets led from the

principal, all paved, and containing good houses. This town, I should suppose, from the number of shops filled with lanterns of all descriptions, both horn and paper, must contain manufactories of those articles. The principal wall of the city extends on the north face, the other is so overtopped by houses, that it requires some attention to remark it in passing down the main street, which it crosses.

We had a good bird's eye view of the city from a hill to the northward; nearly half way down this hill are the temple and ruined tower, seen as we approached the city; the temple, ascended to by a very steep stone staircase, very much resembled that at Nankin: the god Fo was represented with the same attributes, and the principal hall was surrounded by similar figures of sages, in the same style: a skreen represented the three Fo's surrounded by different animals, the present riding an animal not unlike the neelgao of India, the others on an elephant and tiger. In another temple in the suburb there was perhaps a greater resemblance to that of Nankin; the skreen representing Kwan-

yin, with the symbols of creation, bestriding a dragon. There were several stone py-loos, handsomely carved, on the side of the paved road leading from this hill to the city. I should not consider Woo-hoo-shien populous in proportion to the number of shops, and the amount of accumulated produce exposed for sale. The suburb near the city contained several good shops, and was crowded with people, probably attracted by the arrival of the fleet.

Sir George collected the substance of a late edict respecting us, to the following effect. It commenced by announcing the return of the embassy, and after describing us as persons in strange dresses, prohibited our stopping, or going on shore. All persons were also forbidden to molest us by gazing at us, to sell us books or articles of furniture, and were generally ordered to follow their usual occupations: a particular injunction was addressed to the women, commanding them to keep out of our sight. An observation of General Wang's throws light upon the frequent repetition of this injunction. A party of Tartars belonging to some barbarous tribes, passing

through the country on a similar occasion to the present, violated the women of the villages on the route; and as all foreigners are alike despised by the Chinese, we, until known, were suspected of equal brutality. It must be confessed, that the freedom allowed to us is quite irreconcileable with this edict.

31st of October.—We left our anchorage at daylight with a fine breeze, passed two villages on our left, Laou-kan and Shen-shan-ja, the last about ten o'clock, distance nine miles, where the river again divides: we followed the smaller branch to the left. About twelve we reached Lan-shan-kya, a very pretty village on the right, its small temple surrounded by trees. At half past three we passed a large opening, called Chao-ho; we did not exactly ascertain whether this is the junction of the stream from the Chao-hoo lake, laid down in the Chinese maps about this place, but it corresponds very nearly in situation; the distance sixty lees from Woo-hoo-shien. The stream again divides, and the scenery on the banks is highly picturesque; the hills have great variety of elevation, and

are covered with woods, the trees at this season exhibiting the most varied and vivid autumnal tints; the red particularly brilliant. At four passed a temple, Kwuy-foong-tse, and a ruined tower near it, both prettily situated, with vistas of trees stretching along the lower hills. A short distance from this last is Fan-chong-chou-hien, an old and inconsiderable town. Just after sunset the sky was really darkened with flights of wild geese stretching across the horizon. At eight o'clock, rounding a small wooded island, Pan-tze-chee, we passed up a narrow cut, and anchored at Tee-kiang, a small town, built at the foot of some low hills; the houses, as at Woo-hoo-shien, near the water, were built on piles; one, belonging to a merchant, near our boats, deserved notice from the quantity of carved wood work in the front. Our day's journey has been ninety lees.

1st of November.—The morning view at Tee-kiang reminded me very much of the Turkish towns in Asia Minor; like them it stretches some distance up the hills, which command it. If we had reason to be dissatisfied with the lifeless level of the

provinces of Che-lee and Shan-tung, we are amply indemnified by the beautiful variety of the banks of the Yang-tse-keang; mountain, hill, valley, stream, and woods, present themselves to the eye under the most picturesque combinations: the climate is delightful, and if mere beauty of scenery could remove ennui, ours would be a pleasant journey; but this only pleases the eye for a moment, and leaves the mind unsatisfied. At the distance of thirty lees we opened the main branch of the river, passing the village of Tsoo-shah-chou. The river afterwards wound so much, that its course went nearly round the compass; some of the boats followed a small branch, shortening the distance, but with less water.

I have often endeavoured to express the impression made by beautiful scenery, and have never been able to satisfy myself; indeed I should be disposed to doubt the possibility of doing so, where there are no moral feelings connected with the scene. We have this day been passing through a beautiful country, the lesser features as yesterday, but the general effect height-

ened by a nearer approach to the more distant mountains, of an elevation and form imposing and varied. It strikes me that the landscape paintings of different nations would form a good criterion of their notions of picturesque scenery, as the artist will probably select those subjects most generally agreeable; thus Chinese paintings represent precipitous hills, with boats sailing near them; trees of the most vivid autumnal tints, under combinations, that might seem unnatural to European eyes, but which are perfectly correspondent to the banks of the Yang-tse-keang.

We anchored at Tsing-kya-chin, a small village forty lees from Kee-keang. Near this place we for the first time saw the tallow tree*: it is a large tree when full grown, looking, at a distance, like a maple, and is at this season particularly beautiful, from the contrast of the brilliant autumnal tints of the leaves with the berries in their different stages; some with the outward husk still green, some brown, and others

* Stillingia sebifera.

freed of the covering, and of a pure white: in this state they are the size of a large pea: pee-ya-kwotzu, skin-oil-fruit, is the Chinese name for it. The tallow is obtained by compression in a mill, and is sold in large cakes.

In comparing the cultivated ground in this part of the country with that of Chekee and the other provinces, I should say that there was more appearance of its being divided among small but independent proprietors who resided upon their own estates; there are comfortable dwelling-houses at short intervals, and round these clumps of trees are usually planted, all giving an idea of comfort and permanency of possessors. The river again unites at the extremity of the island upon which Tsing-kya-chin is situated, and its utmost width can scarcely be less than five miles.

2nd of November.—We crossed the river, and proceeding twenty-one lees, arrived at Toong-ling-hien, an inconsiderable town in point of size, but remarkable for the number and superior execution of the stone py-loos. Some of the animals and flowers carved in the frieze were not

unworthy of European art. A sandy beach covered with pebbles, resembling the sea shore, extended the greatest part of this distance; these had evidently belonged to the hills rising immediately from the beach, composed of similar pebbles imbedded in loose sand. The interior of the country very much resembled parts of Essex and Hertfordshire. Oaks* not growing beyond the size of large shrubs, and a small species of firs, covered the sides of the hills.

A creek leads from the river to T'oong-ling-hien, and as our boats came to an anchor there with every appearance of remaining, I set out on a ramble over the beautiful hills in the neighbourhood; this, however, was shortened by soldiers who were sent in search of my companions and myself, to announce that the boats had sailed. I must confess that I was not a little annoyed at the prospect of an un-

* Of the species of oak found by us in China Mr. Abel could only determine one, the Quercus glauca of Kæmpfer; the others he believed to be non-descripts. That with hairy cups approaches the Quercus cuspidata of Wildenow.

pleasant message from Kwang, animadverting on my wandering habits; in this, however, I was happily mistaken, and we reached the anchorage at Ta-tung-chin, a distance of twenty lees, not long after the fleet, and before the night had completely set in. The river on leaving Tung-ling was again divided by an island; when united, its greatest width four miles. At half past four we passed a high hill called by some Lang-shan, and by others Yang-shan-chee, in which steps were regularly cut to assist the trackers in the ascent; the scene here, from the increased depth of the wood on the hills, was particularly beautiful.

We collect from the Mandarin and the boatmen that some religious traditions belong to the lofty range of mountains before us, whose jagged pinnacles are now distinctly visible; their stupendous height renders them worthy of overlooking the course of the Son of the Sea. The mortal remains of some deity are said to be buried in these mountains; the Chinese name is Kou-hwa-shan. I have not yet heard that any of our party have discovered traces of

the copper-mine from which Tung-ling-hien takes its name, the first syllable meaning copper.

3rd of November.—The prospect at our anchorage in the morning was most uninviting; a narrow creek, with poor dirty houses on each side, completely shutting out the scenery on either side. An unfavourable wind prevented our setting off. Unless, however, the stream is here particularly strong, it seems most extraordinary that we should not make use of trackers, poles, and sweeps, as on former occasions. I have long since given up the idea of Kwang being liable for the expenses either in whole or in part, for were that the case we should not have lost a moment.

Ta-tung, though unpromising on the outside, is a large village, with much better shops than at Tung-ling-hien, though a walled town; the markets were remarkably well supplied. I had a delightful walk through this truly romantic country; all the valleys are highly cultivated with wheat, rice, cotton, and beans; the houses substantial and shaded by trees, some of a very large size in growth, resem-

bling the oak; the leaf is forked, and I believe the tree itself is of the maple species. Pudding-stone and sand-stone compose the greater part of the hills we crossed to-day; they are all in a rapid state of disintegration. Great varieties of the oak have been observed here. We have called the lofty jagged mountains already noticed the Organ Pipes, from their resemblance to those at Rio Janeiro. The soil of the hills is poor and gravelly, adapted for little else but woodland. We have remarked several plantations of the pinaster.

4th of November.—The wind still unfavourable keeps us at this place. I find that my long walks and the bodily fatigue produced by them, are the best antidotes to ennui. My plan is to fix upon some trees, or other distant object, and explore my way thither over hill and dale: to the naturalist and botanist every step is full of interest, and even to the unlettered eye the beauties of this varied scene charm away the fatigue of distance and difficulty. We observed great varieties of ferns; the oak plantations were kept very low, the twigs being used for firewood: bundles of oak

bark were exposed for sale in the market, employed, I believe, as by us, in tanning. The dried broad leaf of the nelumbrium serves as fuel to the lower orders, many of whom we saw returning to their houses with heaps of it.

In the course of our walk we came upon a small temple with flags of coloured paper before the door, and the interior adorned with drawings and grotesque paintings of men and animals; several cups of shamshoo were placed before the idol, and the boisterous mirth of the peasants assembled round the temple bespoke that the votaries had partaken largely of this part of the offering. The festival was supposed to be the celebration of the full moon. It is the practice of the Chinese to pay visits on occasion of the full moon, which would seem to be considered by them a season of rejoicing. There is something to my mind highly attractive in these natural festivals, more especially when celebrated in the country; they are the innocent rites of that natural universal religion implanted in the breast of man, and keep alive the idea of the Deity, by celebrating the vi-

cissitudes of the season, and the changing aspect of the great luminary of the night, all parts of his original design, and still maintained by his superintending providence.

This part of the country is not populous, but the inhabitants did not seem stinted in the means of existence. I have been much struck in all Chinese towns and villages with the number of persons apparently of the middling classes; from this I am inclined to infer a wide diffusion of the substantial comforts of life, and the consequent financial capacity of the country. However absurd the pretensions of the Emperor of China may be to universal supremacy, it is impossible to travel through his dominions, without feeling that he has the finest country within an imperial ring-fence in the world.

5th of November.—Some others and myself this day effected our purpose, of getting to the summit of the range of mountains, between this village and Tung-ling-shien. Our walk led us through a valley where we saw for the first time the tea plant. It is a beautiful shrub resem-

bling a myrtle, with a yellow flower extremely fragrant. The plantations were not here of any extent, and were either surrounded by small fields of other cultivation, or placed in detached spots: we also saw the ginger in small patches, covered with a frame-work to protect it from the birds. The system of cultivation by terraces is carried on to a partial extent. Irrigation is conducted by a chain pump worked by the hand, being rather an improvement upon that described before, and capable, I think, of being employed in England with advantage. An axle with cogs is fixed at each end of the trough over which the flat boards pass; at the end of the uppermost axle cross bars are attached, serving as a wheel; to these again handles are fixed, which the man works, using each hand alternately. The labour is light, and the quantity of water raised considerable. The view from the top of the mountain repaid the labour of ascent. The scene was in the true mountain style, rock above rock in endless and sublime variety. This wildness was beautifully contrasted by the cultivation of the valleys, speckled with

white cottages and farm-houses. We had been observed from the low grounds by the peasants, and on our descent were received by a crowd, who followed us with shouts that might, had it not been for their subsequent civility in offering us tea, been mistaken for insolence; as it was, they certainly were merely the rude expressions of astonishment. This part of the country abounds in a species of oak, having leaves like the laurel, not, I believe, known in England. Our boats have moved from the creek in which they were moored to an island opposite, called Khou-chuh, for the purpose of affording us a more easy communication with each other. Iron is found in the vicinity of Ta-tung, and some foundries were seen in the town.

6th of November.—We remained at the island, which has little to interest; the space is so small that it is soon walked over: a great part was occupied by the long reed, and the remainder under cultivation of the coarser kind of vegetables. The Chinese certainly deserve good crops, for no nation can take more pains in preparing the ground and watching the plant

to maturity; they are most particular in cleansing the ground of weeds. Although there were no villages on this island, the population was considerable; the cottages of the peasants were detached, and seemed all to have small gardens annexed. Cutaneous disorders were prevalent in this neighbourhood to an extent even unusual among the Chinese, probably arising from course diet and want of cleanliness. In this neighbourhood complaints have been frequent of the impoverished state of the country, and of the particular pressure upon the lower classes. Mr. Morrison this day translated a proclamation *, addressed by the magistrate to the inhabitants of Ta-tung, similar in purport to that seen by Sir George Staunton on the 30th of October.

7th of November.—We left the island at daylight, with a strong northerly wind. At half past eight, near the village of Ma-poo-keou, we entered a branch to the south, called Ma-shou-ja; the greater branch was to the westward. At nine we passed a

* Vide Appendix, No. 9.

pagoda with seven stories, in the neighbourhood of Chee-choo-foo, which, however, we did not see, being concealed from us by some hills. Twelve o'clock we came to an anchor at an island, opposite a small town; the name of the anchorage was Woo-sha-kya; whether belonging to the town or island I know not: distance eighty or one hundred lees from Ta-tung. I crossed the water, and took a ramble in the country, more remarkable for the facility with which a stranger might lose his way than for any other circumstance. As far as the eye reached, there was a succession of elevations and hollows, the higher points with clumps of trees, and cultivation carried on by terraces from the declivities to the valleys: there were many oak trees of the willow-leaf species, and of a considerable size. In a parasite of unusual thickness, the girth at the root being near eighteen inches, that had substituted its own branches for that of the supporting fir, the melancholy Jaques might have found an emblem of the flatterers of the rich and powerful, who often undermine the greatness by which they rose, and

which they originally courted and corrupted. A harrow, guided by a man standing upon it, with short curved blades placed obliquely in the frame, is used by the Chinese for breaking the larger clods turned up by the plough.

8th of November.—We remained at the island, there being some danger at the point, where the Yang-tse-keang unites its branches, which it was not thought safe to encounter with so strong a wind. The day was passed in walking round the island, the greater part of which is cultivated with rice, wheat, and vegetables; the cultivation on the opposite bank was cotton, buck-wheat, and beans: one plantation of tea was met with in full flower. There are evident traces on this island, as on the others, of their being at times inundated, if not wholly submerged. The uncertainty of the tenure either does not check the industry of the Chinese, or the fertility of the soil in a single crop repays the labour of cultivation. The dwellings were at intervals, and generally adapted for inhabitants of a description superior to mere cottagers. In the course of our ramble we

were attracted to a house by the noise of cymbals and other musical instruments; the ceremony proved to be funeral solemnities; the mourners dressed in white robes, with caps of the same colour; the officiating priests, who were also the musicians, wore their ordinary dresses: the procession moved in regular order several times round the yard before the house, within which the coffin was placed. Our appearance completely interrupted the ceremony, by exciting the curiosity of the whole party; old and young, both sexes, with one accord gave up the business of the day to examine us and our dresses: there was only one old woman who thought it necessary to preserve the appearance of sorrow. The dresses of the priests, as usual, resembled those of Christian ecclesiastics. This resemblance, when combined with that of the matron Poosa bearing a child in her arms, to the Virgin, must have an unpleasant appearance to very zealous catholics. The representation is a very common subject of the coarse paintings exposed for sale in the shops.

9th of November.—We quitted our an-

chorage at five o'clock*, with a strong wind, and entered the main stream. At eight we saw a cut on the right bank. The course of the river here winds considerably. We passed a small village with a guard-house, and soon after Ho-chuen, near which the country was beautifully wooded: mountains on both sides; those in front on the right had spiculated summits; on the left I fancied that I saw the stupendous range visible from Ta-tung. Ho-chuen is thirty lees from Gan-king-foo.—At one o'clock we passed a long line of soldiers in armour, probably five hundred, making a very respectable appearance: they were drawn up on their parade, near the centre of which there was a large butt for match-lock and arrow practice. Shortly after we passed a well proportioned tower of eight stories: those who visited it described it in good repair, with a handsome marble obelisk in the basement story, containing

* Those who were awake at this early hour describe a rock called Tai-tze-kee, entirely covered by a temple, near this spot; and further in advance two sunken rocks, the passage between which was so narrow as to require great attention to prevent the boats from getting upon one or other.

the heart of a celebrated warrior. The view from the summit presented the greater part of the space within the walls of Gan-king-foo, as consisting of gardens and cultivated ground.

I landed, with Sir George Staunton, a few hundred yards beyond the pagoda, and entering at the east gate of the city, walked through to the western, near to which our boats anchored. The eastern quarter of the city consists principally of dwelling-houses, and it was not until we passed the judge's house, nearly in the centre of the city, that we reached the shops, the objects of our search, as from being the capital of the province, we were led to expect a good display of the manufactures and produce: in this we were not wholly disappointed; the shops, though not so spacious as at Woo-hoo-shien, being not ill supplied. In despite of the Imperial edict, the shopkeepers had no hesitation in selling us any article we wished to purchase. Our entrance into a shop, from the pressure of the crowds following us, was not without danger to the owner; all rushed in indiscriminately; and in one,

filled with small articles of value, it was impossible not to feel alarmed for their safety; at least in London such numbers would not have been without a due proportion of the light-fingered gentry. There would have been little difficulty in laying out a large sum in curiosities of all kinds, such as necklaces, old china, agate cups, vases, ornaments of corundum and other stones, curious specimens of carved work in wood and metal; we, however, had neither money nor time enough to make purchases. The streets were paved, and generally narrow. Few public buildings. On the wall of ceremony, opposite to the Foo-yuen's house, there was an enormous dragon; whether as an emblem of office, or to excite terror, seemed doubtful. I observed that only officers of government* were allowed to pass through the court of his residence. The women showed themselves at the doors, and some had no reason to be ashamed of their looks: from their gestures and appearance I should

* These residences of the officers of government are called Yamun.

imagine that they were prouder of their beauty, than of their modesty.

The suburb towards the river contains as good shops as the city; indeed this is the case of all Chinese cities situated on the banks of rivers. The practice of shutting the gates at sunset renders it often inconvenient for strangers to make purchases in sufficient time to return to their boats, and as travelling in this part of China may be said to be entirely by water, the accommodation of strangers determines the situation of shops. On the whole, although there was no street of Gan-king-foo that deserved particular notice, there were so many more respectable dwelling-houses than in the other cities, that it may probably deserve the character assigned to it, of comparative prosperity. The gates had the usual building over them, and were only remarkable from the narrowness of the entrance. Porcelain, horn lanterns, caps, drapers and mercers' goods, with ornaments of different kinds, were chiefly the articles exposed for sale.

10th of November.—We left at day-light. The mistiness of the morning pre-

vented us from having a good view of the city, after clearing the cut, flowing along the suburbs. The wall dipped suddenly on the northern face, where it skirted a hill, which had the appearance of being within the city. At nine we passed Wang-sha-chee; a creek near it with some boats at an anchor: a lofty range of mountains on our left. The river was here divided by an island, and the information of the boatmen led me to suppose that the Kee-yan-ho was near this spot. At twelve we passed Tung-lew-hien, a walled town with two Ta's or towers, one of seven stories: the houses were white-washed. A river flowed in at Tung-lew-hien, several boats were anchored in it, and we were surprised at the unusual daring of our conductors, who passed this safe anchorage, though the wind was as much as we could carry sail to. Much ground, not covered with dwellings, seemed included within the walls.—Three o'clock. We came to Wa-yuen-chow, a small island, with some houses near the anchorage; one not yet finished attracted our notice from its being new, a rare circumstance in China, and its resem-

blance to an English farm-house. Except near Tung-lew-hien, the country has lost much of its picturesque beauty.

11th of November.—A heavy fall of rain during the night, accompanied by a lowering appearance of the weather, has delayed us here. The rain has scarcely intermitted, and we are suffering all the miseries of November weather in England, without the alleviations. Our boats are not weather-tight, and the aspect without and within is truly comfortless.

The marine on duty at Mr. Morrison's boat unfortunately slipped down between the boats, and was drowned: the stream is so strong, and there is so much danger of being drawn under the boats, that accidents under these circumstances most generally prove fatal. The Chinese shewed great anxiety to find the body, and having removed the three adjacent boats succeeded. A message was sent to the Chinchae, requesting that the fleet might be delayed till the funeral had taken place; this was readily complied with, and every assistance afforded.

12th of November.—This morning Mil-

lege, the marine, was buried with military honours, behind the Chinese guard-house. A mark of attention was shewn by the soldiers on duty, for which I should not have been disposed to give the Chinese credit: when the funeral service was finished they fired their iron tubes, and their band played an appropriate tune. We sailed at ten o'clock; at twelve we passed Wan-jan-hien; at half past twelve Ma-tung-shan, a remarkable bluff point on the right bank: the stream was here divided by another island; we took the branch to the N. W. Porpoises have been observed this morning, a singular circumstance, considering the distance from the sea. We passed the Seaou-koo-shan, or the little orphan hill, at four o'clock. This rock is a most curious object; first, from its insulated situation; next, from its abrupt elevation, rising at once to the height of two hundred and fifty feet; and thirdly, from the buildings and innumerable flocks of cormorants, or the fishing birds, that had settled on its side. There is a temple of two stories on the very summit; and about midway, several others rising on terraces one above

another: the interval between these buildings and the topmost temple was covered with a plantation of bamboos, that produced a most fanciful effect, from the contrast of their slender stems with the ruggedness of the rock upon which they rested. The cormorants looked, at a distance, like small apertures on the side, and even nearer they seemed rather clinging than perching upon the rock. A paper, brought by the priests, stated that these temples had been endowed by the Emperor's mother. Boats in passing generally make some offering to propitiate the local deity in their progress from the river to the lake; our devotion would not allow us to neglect compliance. Shortly afterwards we came opposite to Pang-tse-hien, a walled town, strangely placed: the majority of the houses are situated in a valley, but the walls passing round and over the hills inclose a large space within their circuit. The range is here not lofty, but the cloudiness of the day, although it deprived us of a clear view of the buildings by covering the summits with mist, gave the mountains an indefinite elevation approaching to subli-

mity; they are striking in themselves from their abrupt projections into the river. Our destined anchorage was Ching-yang-miao, which, however, we did not reach till the morning.

13th of November.—Ching-yang-miao is situated off a low flat point of land, up a small creek or river. We remained here all day, in consequence of an unfavourable wind. Lord Amherst had a visit from Kwang, to inquire how he had passed the preceding night, which had been rather tempestuous. One of the boats had incurred some danger, the track-rope having given way, and the largest anchor from some mismanagement failing to bring the vessel up, she drifted towards the Senou-koo-shan; fortunately the smaller anchors held, or the consequences might have been serious. Kwang informed Lord Amherst that intelligence had been received of the arrival on the 9th of October of three ships at the anchorage near Canton; one at the second bar, of course the Hewitt; two others, war-vessels*, probably the Alceste

* These proved afterwards to be the Discovery and Investigator.

and Lyra, at Chuen-pee. The Chin-chae gave a bad account of our next boats in point of size; five will be required for the contents of one of those occupied at present. The Po-yang lake, from Kwang's account, is very inferior in extent to the Tung-ting-hoo in Ho-quang, the one being one hundred and eighty lees*, and the other eight hundred across. The village, as usual, on the opposite bank of the creek to that where we anchored. The country was only remarkable for a greater number of what might be called gentlemen's country-houses (it being understood that gentlemen's applies only to the houses, and not to the owners) than I had before seen in the same space. A village school attracted my attention; the boys were all† reading the same book aloud, and in a sort of recitative tone: the ears of the master must have been very quick to have detected the idle. Though the villages were small, they were numerous: many

* A lee is rather more than one-third of a mile.

† It is probable that the mode of instruction was similar to that of India, so beneficially introduced into England by Bell.

of the cottages were of mere matting, a material as cheap as perishable.

14th of November.—We sailed at five o'clock. At seven we passed a curious projecting rock, with a fishing village, embayed among the rugged cliffs: the whole scene on the left was striking, from the rough aspect of the bank. About nine we passed Hoo-koo-hien, situated something similarly to Pang-tse-hien, in an aperture of the hills, with the walls passing over, and including several. It is difficult to account for the inclosure of hills within these towns, uncultivated, and apparently yielding but little pasturage. On our right the river branched off at a small village, called Pa-li-kiang (eight lees river), and here we quitted the mighty Yang-tse-kiang, having travelled upon its waters nine hundred and fifty lees, or two hundred and eighty-five miles. The average breadth may be considered at least two miles. The country it flows through is highly picturesque, and, with the exception of the sides of the mountains, capable of and obtaining careful cultivation. The islands are numerous, large, and fertile in a high degree: the cities, towns, and villages, not unfrequent, and

populous; the body is perfect, but the soul is wanting. In vain will the patriot look for kindred feelings, in vain will the man of honour look for a friend, and still more in vain would amiable woman look for a companion on the banks of the Yang-tse-kiang; what is not mere manner is barbarism, and what is not barbarism is deceit: the merest rivulet that flows by the British peasant's hut, may be prouder of its moral situation, than the great river of China.

The width where we entered the lake, including the river branching off, was seven or eight miles; its waters were immediately afterwards confined by a small rocky tract. Near the entrance is the Ta-koo-shan, or great orphan hill, insulated like Seaou-koo-shan, but larger and not of such precipitous elevations; on this there was a tower of seven stories, in handsome proportions, two smaller ones, and some temples: from the shape it is also called He-ya-ee-shan, or shoe hill. On the whole, the Ta-koo-shan is not so remarkable an object as the Seaou-koo-shan. A lofty range of mountains is before us, called the Lee-shan, overhanging Nan-kang-foo, a city on the lake, at which it is supposed we shall

touch. The summit of this range is tabular, terminating in an abrupt point, from which the rebel giants might have been hurled by the Thunderer. Having already completed ninety lees, and the weather looking heavy, we did not tempt the expanse of the lake, but anchored in the small but secure bay of Ta-koo-tang. Although the weather looked doubtful, I lost no time in attempting to penetrate to the nearest range of hills, from whence a view of the greater range might be expected. Much to the discontent of the Chinese soldiers, I effected my object; the elevation was considerable, though much inferior to the Lee-shan. There was sufficient clearness in the atmosphere to give a beautiful variation of light and shade to the hills below, the sides of which were in places cultivated, but generally covered with underwood. I was surprised to find all the plants on the summit aromatic. Some shrubs were in fine flower and extremely beautiful; those, with a profusion of single white flowers, were conjectured to be a species of camellia by the gardener: a very handsome species of oak, the branches clus-

tering with acorns, was found near the town; the height of the tree about fifty feet, its leaves resembling the laurel. Clay-slate principally composed the range I ascended. Limestone and graywacke were found near the anchorage.

15th of November.—The rain detained us here, it being intended to wait for perfectly fair weather to cross the lake. I employed myself in walking through the town, and was surprised to find so many large shops and buildings. The best of the former were shops of porcelain ware, where our party made several purchases; the prices, according to English notions, were certainly moderate. In one of the large temples I remarked some octagonal pillars of coarse marble; they had pedestals, but no capitals. The theatre opposite seemed in tolerably good repair: tumbling is the principal exhibition. The town skirts the bay, and in fine weather is probably approached on the side towards the lake. Several large rafts were moored near the town with sheds on them, the residence, no doubt, of poor families; we have met several on this and the other rivers.

16th of November.—Last night was stormy; the weather, however, clearing up before noon, we made sail: both sides of the lake were mountainous: the Lee-shan on our right still maintained the superiority. The summit and cavities of the rocks were so white as to look like snow. Attentive observation leads me to suppose that the white surfaces must either have been sand or stone, bared by the action of mountain torrents. About five miles from Ta-koo-tang we passed King-shan, a small town situated like the former at the head of a bay: several salt junks were at anchor: the waters of the lake* were troubled enough for an inland sea; and the whole scene, heightened by the cloudiness of the day, was not without sublimity. In our front are several barren sand-hills; indeed

* One of the missionaries says, that the Po-yang lake is subject to as violent typhoons as the Chinese seas. The good father himself encountered one of these tempests, and was in imminent danger of perishing: he devoutly attributes his preservation to a piece of the true cross, which he was carrying from Rome to the church at Pekin. The lake was in his time infested by pirates, who, approaching vessels under pretence of giving assistance, plundered the property, and murdered those on board.

the great range seem to partake of the same character: a more distant range has patches of snow in the cavities. Some of the houses at King-shan, as at Ta-koo-tang, were built upon piles, not, however, of sufficient strength to resist any great force of water. The Ta-koo-shan, and also a smaller insulated rock, appearing like a boat under sail near the entrance of the bay at Ta-koo-tang, were visible from hence.

About twelve we saw the pagoda of Nan-kang-foo, in good repair, of seven stories; and shortly afterwards rounded a point to the right, and anchored off a mole built principally of granite, calculated to protect the walls of the city, and small vessels, from any sudden influx from the lake. A bridge or arched causeway conducted from the mole to the city gate. The Po-yang is here divided by the hills into two branches; the one upon which we have hitherto sailed is called Nan-kang-hoo. We were all much disappointed with the interior of the town, the appearance of the walls, and the mole, having led us to expect a flourishing city. In the

shops there were literally nothing but the common necessaries of life to be purchased, and those apparently adapted for the lowest orders. The numerous stone py-loos, however, forming a complete arcade up the main street, sufficiently attested the former importance of Nan-kang-foo; these py-loos were richly sculptured, and the relief of the figures was particularly striking from its prominency; they were erected in the reign of Van-li, near three hundred years since. The first halls or temples of Confucius, called Wan-miao, we had seen, were met with in this city; they are remarkable for the absence of idols, and for the tablets bearing the names of deceased worthies, placed in galleries round the courts: a semicircular bath occupied part of the first court, and some wide steps were to be ascended before entering the halls; these steps, the figures of lions at their extremities, and the bath, were of white small grained granite brought from the neighbouring mountains. One of the halls is either a new erection or under complete repair; the pagoda is also new, both undertaken by

the present governor, who, in the present decaying state of China, must be considered a man of unusual public spirit. There being so little to interest in the town, the range of Lee-shan mountains on the north-west formed the great point of attraction; and a cascade falling from a ridge of rock, apparently two-thirds of the height of the mountain, became the immediate object of my walk: I did not succeed in reaching it this evening, but, unless we sail, shall renew the attempt to-morrow. I have here met the first granite rocks, and the whole range has the appearance of being primitive.

17th of November.—I had a most interesting walk to the mountain: a stream, fed from the waterfall, wound through the valley, and was crossed by three bridges, one of which was of twelve piers; the bed was *nearly dry*, but the length of the bridges marked, that at certain seasons, either of heavy rain or melting snow, the stream must swell into a considerable torrent. The clearness of the water was truly gratifying to the eye, so long obscured by the muddy waters of the Pei-ho, Eu-ho,

Yellow, and Yang-tse-kiang rivers. Leaving to our right a large temple beautifully situated at the termination of the ravine down which the cascade tumbles, we wound round a hill, and soon fell into a stony path leading to a small Ta, or tower, overlooking the waterfall. At this distance the building appeared like a child's plaything. Here I had an opportunity of witnessing the truth of the descriptions I had read of the features of a granitic range. The rocks rose in rude spiculated summits, survivors of the extensive degrading process, marked by the debris at the bottom. As we ascended by the path of stone steps which wound considerably to escape the steepness of the ascent, we passed several blocks of pure quartz, many of three feet in depth, and a few nearly five; midway a vein of quartz, two and a half feet thick, seemed to cross the mountain horizontally. The ground glittered with mica, so as to give the surface an appearance of being strewed with spangles of the precious metals. One stream falling over masses of rock, gave out the sound so sublimely applied in Scripture to the voice of the

Almighty, "the rush of many waters." Thus the pauses which the steepness of the ascent required were amply filled by a contemplation of the magnificence above and around, finely contrasted with the smiling neatness of the cultivated vale below us. An hour and a half brought us to the pagoda, which proved to be of seven stories, built of the neighbouring granite, and fifty feet in height; a small idol riding on a cow was placed in an aperture on the basement story. We stood upon an insulated pinnacle, separated by a deep ravine from the rocks, over whose surface the cascade tumbled in a perpendicular fall of four hundred feet. While resting ourselves, some priests were observed standing on an opposite cliff, belonging to the college or temple near the pagoda, the existence of which we had already conjectured from the cultivated patches near the summit: we had no hesitation in applying to them for tea, which they readily supplied us with. Their habitation was very beautifully situated in a small hollow sheltered by a few trees from the wind, that was even thus early in the

season extremely piercing. The abstemious habits of their order, excluding meat, did not enable the priests to offer those solid refreshments required by so long a walk. Salted ginger and parings of dried fruit were all their stores afforded; the repast was truly that of an anchorite, and the whole scene well adapted to devout meditation. A plantation of bamboos *, which I now have no doubt of being considered a sacred tree, overhung the cascade. Some large plants of the camellia were growing on the top and sides of a cultivated hill near the temple. Our descent only occupied three quarters of an hour: towards the bottom I observed some schistus, which, I could almost venture to assert, was below the granite: it was micaceous, with small embedded garnets. On our return we followed the great road, and near the city passed a temple of the Tao-tze, remarkable for some drawings descriptive of a future state, in which the rewards and punishments were represented by corresponding situations belonging to this life.

* Bambusa arundinacea.

18th of November.—Influenced by good example, I had sufficient geological enterprise to pay another visit to the mountains. On this occasion we ascended, for a short distance, the course of the stream, and had a fine opportunity of witnessing the disintegration in every stage of the granitic rocks. Much of the granite of these mountains has a stratified appearance, in some instances perfectly laminated: the feldspar and mica were of various colours, the white, however, in both predominating. Parts of the rock exhibited a veined appearance, from the different colour of the feldspar: among the debris at the bottom, lumps of the latter of some size were met with. In this place, notwithstanding a diligent search, we were unable to ascertain the exact situation of the schistus. Some masses appearing to me a species of micaceous schistus, but by persons conversant in the science considered gneiss, were observed near the bottom; the inclination of the whole range was nearly vertical, eighty-five to ninety: the direction between N. E. and S. W. In a lower range, situated obliquely with respect to

the Lee-shan, the schistus was perceived decidedly the lowest: pieces of micaceous schistus were met with on the pinnacle where the pagoda stood, probably brought down by torrents from the higher parts. The whole range exhibited an appearance of extensive degradation by the action of violent mountain torrents, which had gone, perhaps, to form the Po-yang lake, or swell the Yang-tse-keang: the rocks were thrown about in rude and immense blocks, and, as has been already remarked, the smaller were of pure quartz. The large temple at the foot of the mountain was out of repair, and only remarkable for the fine trees in the courts. A single priest was engaged in devotions; he struck a bell and beat a drum at the intervals of the prayer he was repeating in a recitative tone: the service terminated with prostrations. I remarked in the countenance of this priest, as before in that of others of the same profession, an expression of vacant idiotism so striking, as to give me an idea of its being affected, for the purpose of appearing completely absorbed in devout contemplation. Though religion would not seem to be much re-

garded in China, it does not arise from want of zeal or professional craft in the priesthood. It would be worthy of inquiry, what has produced the present state of indifference in China upon a subject interesting the passions and feelings of men, generally in proportion to their moral and political ignorance? A new species of oak, and several trees of the laurus camphora, were seen here. The tea plant was also found, but still in small patches.

19th of November.—This day has been employed in an excursion to a college where Choo-foo-tze*, one of the commentators upon Confucius, and the author of a history from the earliest period to his own time, A. D. 1100, taught a numerous body of disciples. The temple is five miles

* I am inclined to think that this Choo-foo-tze is the same as Choo-hi, the founder of the doctrines held by the modern philosophers in China. Choo-hi taught that there is an universal cause, Tai-ki, who produced two others, one perfect and the other imperfect. In this division he somewhat resembles Plato. The perfect and imperfect may be compared, the one to the soul, and the other to the material form of the world. The Li is that which makes a thing to be what it is.

from the north gate of the city in a westerly direction. There was nothing particularly striking in the exterior of the college excepting its extent. It was divided, as usual, into several courts; round these were rows of cells, formerly the dwellings of the students, whose number, it is said, amounted to one thousand. In one of the halls there was a statue of Confucius with those of his principal disciples round him; the remarkable circumstances of this statue are the complexion and features of Confucius, decidedly African. A tree was pointed out as having been planted by the very hands of Choo-foo-tze. The Chinese scholars of our party were anxious to carry away branches of the tree. For my own part, I was more interested with a wooden figure of a stag, said to have been employed by the sage to purchase and bring home the philosopher's provisions from the neighbouring villages; the money was placed on his horns, and such was the honesty of the sellers or the sagacity of the animal, that the marketing was satisfactorily accomplished. This story, supported by the figure, had more romance and fanciful improbability than generally

belongs to the dull absurdities of Chinese tradition. The approach to, and situation of the college was agreeable and picturesque; behind the building was a hill richly wooded, and in front a mountain stream that furnished a supply of clear water to the master and his disciples. The building is now under repair, but whether to be used for its original purpose I did not ascertain. Scratching or carving names seems common to all nations; here, and at the foot of the Lee-shan, several persons had left their record in Chinese characters. A memorandum was left by us in the pagoda on the rock, stating its having been visited by the British embassy. Our walk through the valleys, both going and returning to the village (having by mistake taken a circuitous road) was through beautiful scenery. Every aspect of the Lee-shan is magnificent, and the buildings, cultivation, and trees are prettily disposed in the low lands. We passed a large college on entering the north gate; a considerable space on our right was without habitation, and consisted entirely of cultivated ground.

20th of November.—We quitted the

mole at half past six, re-entering the lake about seven. At nine we passed a small town, Soo-chee, rather well situated; the distance said to be forty-five lees. A strong and favourable wind brought us to our anchorage at Woo-chin at twelve o'clock, having completed, according to the Chinese Itinerary, ninety lees, or thirty miles in five hours, our course from south-east to south-west; here we leave the Po-yang lake which stretches to the eastward. There are two small rivers near the town; we follow that to the southward. Of the Po-yang lake I have only to observe that it has not proved of such considerable width as I had expected; at this point there are so many low islands or spots of land that its extent is not distinctly perceptible. The scenery on its banks has also, contrary to my anticipations, been mountainous and highly picturesque; the whole distance on its waters about sixty miles.

Woo-chin, though neither dignified with the title of a Chow, or even a Hien, is a place of considerable importance, as the great mart for exchanging commodities

between the north and south of China. The warehouses are spacious and well filled, dwelling-houses large and substantial, temples richly decorated, and the shops filled with articles of all kinds, including no inconsiderable proportion of European goods. There were several small bronze vessels of ancient and modern workmanship, in forms not unlike the Grecian and Etruscan.

On approaching Woo-chin the eye was directed to the green tiled roof of a temple on an elevated situation, and surrounded by a colonnade of granite pillars. It proved on examination to be in ruins. Not so the temple dedicated to Wang-shin-choo, the god of longevity, which in riches of carved work and gilding infinitely surpassed any I had yet seen. A py-loo bearing the same relation to one standing alone, that a pilaster does to a column, and formed of porcelain, covered the outward entrance; the temple immediately in front was almost overwhelmed with gilding; ornamented galleries on each side of the court formed what might be called from situation the second story. The ves-

sels of sacrifice in the temple corresponded in richness and execution to the building itself. Over the entrance and facing the principal hall was a raised pavilion, in the same style of ornament, and intended for theatrical representations; below in the outward court there were porcelain and other shops handsomely set out. We were told that the temple had been erected, and was maintained by the voluntary contributions of the merchants of the town, to whom, assuming the probability of their trade being prosperous, length of life must be the first object. I visited another temple nearly equal in splendid decoration, and very imposingly placed at the top of two handsome flights of stone steps twenty feet long. I should suppose, from the small number of boats at anchor, that though Woo-chin may be the place through which much of the trade between the southern and northern provinces passes, it can scarcely be the seat of actual barter, which would imply a long residence of the owners or their agents, and consequently a detention of the vessels on which the goods were laden. The season, however, or cir-

cumstances of the anchorage unknown to us, would perhaps explain the circumstance. The town was populous; but certainly not more so than its alleged commercial importance would have led us to expect.

21st of November.—Leaving at seven, we at first proceeded on a river called by our boatmen Seaou-chah, afterwards Shan-chou-kho, and finally Shan-kho; there were several small islands, the banks low and with little interest. We had still a few clumps of trees, lingering traces of the romantic country we have quitted. Some hills are visible in the front; but we are gradually losing the Lee-shan. With the exception of a large village not far from Woo-chin, the few others we have passed have been inconsiderable. I must not omit that I have this day seen on the left bank the first pasture, of any extent, since my arrival in China. The cattle were not numerous, oxen and buffaloes; it was so closely eaten up, that it was fitter for cricket than grazing. At sunset we were opposite a few tolerably well built houses, with a dock-yard for small boats. Some

hills to the westward received the last beams of the setting sun; early on our voyage I should perhaps have called them mountains. The river was here about four hundred yards across: we anchored at Wang-chun, a military post with a few houses.

Kwang sent a message to Lord Amherst, requesting that no person belonging to the embassy would go into the city of Nan-chang-foo, which it is expected we shall reach to-morrow, being distant ninety lees; the reasons assigned were the occurrence of the Emperor's birthday, and the public examination of students on the same day, and the consequent crowds that would be collected on these occasions; the presence of the Foo-yuen was also mentioned. These alleged causes may be mere pretexts; they are, however, plausible, and it would therefore be unreasonable, considering the liberty hitherto allowed notwithstanding the Emperor's edict, to express, or perhaps to feel, dissatisfaction. This is the first strictly official notice of the anniversary of the Emperor's birthday, the 24th of November, that has been received. The linguist Achow, indeed, some days since, made a communication to Sir George, evidently,

but not avowedly by the Chin-chae's orders, the object of which was to ascertain whether the Embassador would feel disposed to join in the ceremony about to take place at Nang-chang-foo on the 24th. To this a suitable answer was returned by Sir George, in which, while the want of attention towards the embassy hitherto experienced was adverted to, a disposition was shown to meet the apparent wishes of Kwang, provided they were distinctly expressed, and every other circumstance of the ceremonial proved decorous and satisfactory. This reply was made, merely as Sir George's private opinion, and without committing Lord Amherst. From a subsequent communication through the same channel, the ko-tou seemed to be the object, which of course rendered the proposition absurd and inadmissible. Achow is so confused in his statements, that it is difficult to determine how far he acted by the Chin-chae's orders, or what is the exact nature of the proposition. I can hardly suppose that Kwang could have expected that Lord Amherst would gratuitously comply with a ceremony on his return, to which he had sacrificed the re-

ception of the embassy; unless he conceived that his spirit must have been chilled by his long absence from the sunshine of imperial favour. I should certainly, on many accounts, rejoice in any joint celebration of the anniversary; for, having, by exchanging presents, declared the continuance of friendly intercourse between the Sovereigns, it would be expedient, and indeed honourable for the Embassador to have an opportunity of appearing publicly in unison with the minister of the Emperor; at all events I trust that a complimentary message, if not an offer to celebrate the day by firing a salute, may be sent to Kwang. Indeed a complete silence on the occasion might, I think, justly give some offence to the Emperor; and if the motives were misrepresented, excite serious dissatisfaction. Moreover the appearing quite *hors de combat* on such a public occurrence, is, to my mind, more likely to be perverted by the Chinese into a confession of sense of unworthiness, or into an ignorance of propriety, than viewed as an expression of dignified resentment.

22nd of November.—We left our anchorage early in the morning, and the wind being unfavourable, had recourse to tracking, men being supplied by the district to assist the boatmen. At eleven we passed some low hills, and at twelve arrived at Chou-shah, opposite to which we anchored to take in provisions; there were some tolerable shops in the place, consisting chiefly of one long street: the surrounding country was composed of low red sand-stone hills, partially wooded. The distance of Chou-shah from Nang-chang-foo is fifty lees, and it is, I believe, the usual halting-place: we, however, proceeded twenty lees further before we anchored. Near Chou-shah an inconsiderable cut, called Chah-kho, branches off to the right; and a short distance higher up a larger stream falls in on the eastward; whether this latter be that coming from Hang-choo-foo we did not exactly ascertain. Indeed there are so many branches intersecting each other about this position, that it is highly probable the country for some miles is at times so completely inundated, as to be united with the lake.

There are a range of mountains in our front on the right hand. The climate for these few days has been sufficiently cold to render the boats but unpleasant dwellings. The Chinese do not seem to understand how to combine the admission of light with the exclusion of air; you may enjoy warmth and darkness, but light must be shut out. Our anchorage is a sandy plain, and I have not observed any village near it.

Kwang, this evening, in reply to a written communication from Lord Amherst, conveying his desire to celebrate the Emperor's birthday by firing a salute, sent a message to say that he was fully sensible of the Embassador's attention, but as firing was not usual on such occasions in China, he would beg leave to decline the intended compliment: shortly afterwards a visit from him was announced, which has not, however, taken place, from the lateness of the hour and the intervention of business.

23d of November.—We left at daylight with a fine breeze, the country in places rather pretty. Our boatmen call the range of hills we have seen on our right Chee-

loong-shan; a stream on our left, which we passed about eight, is said to be the Yin-koo-kho, leading from Yao-choo-foo*, where there is, I believe, a large manufacture of porcelain. At nine we saw the pagoda and walls of Nang-chang-foo; with a suburb extending along the bank of the river; at this time the stream was called the Tung-kho. Three quarters of an hour brought us to our anchorage opposite the suburb: here we are said to be in the Shin-chou-kho, the stream upon which the Dutch embassy arrived from Hang-choo-foo: we are anchored at a low island, and I do not observe any number of continued dwelling-houses.

The principal shops in the suburbs are the silk-dealers and furriers; there were a few large porcelain shops, the ware not quite equal to that at Gan-king-foo. Silk was to be purchased either raw, in thread, or wove: red, among the dyed, was the principal colour. Some of the archways

* Yao-choo, from whence the porcelain is sent to Nan-chang-foo, is situated on the south-eastern bank of the lake. King-te-ching, a neighbouring town, is the principal seat of the manufacture.

under the gate so nearly resembled the arches of the streets, that I, with others, unintentionally infringed the order respecting non-entrance. No regulation had certainly been made, as the soldiers, so far from objecting, of their own accord conducted us thither: and when the mistake had subsequently been discovered, seemed surprised at our forbearance. The best shops are in the city; those of the cap-makers, from the embroidery used in the light undress cap, and the velvet and furs in the others, make a very good shew. Furriers' shops were exceedingly numerous and well supplied. The vases and other articles in bronze were not in such variety as at Woo-chin. There were so many shops full of tawdry gilt crowns and helmets used in the theatre, that I should conceive this city must be remarkable for the manufacture of these things. Idol-making, in all its branches and of all sizes, was carrying on, and apparently of the rudest materials, and coarsest workmanship. When the details of idolatry are thus brought under the eye, it is impossible not to feel astonishment, that

such gross perversions of reason should subsist in any country, not totally destitute of intellectual improvement. I observed several paintings on glass, the colouring extremely brilliant, and the designs not ill executed, and interesting from the subjects being chosen in the scenes of domestic life.

24th of November.—Having discovered my mistake of yesterday, I studiously avoided the city itself, and made the tower the object of my walk; a long street, extending, with little deviation from a right line, for a mile and a half, brought me to it. The building itself is rapidly falling to ruins, and the staircases are scarcely trust-worthy. Steps nearly worn away mark its being the frequent resort of visitors, either from devotion or curiosity; there is a good view of the city from the top: it is an irregular polygon with six gates, the longest side towards the water, the circumference of the walls from five to six miles; few large or handsome buildings; one, however, in the centre, with green roofed tiles, must be excepted; we conjecture that it was either a temple of

the sect of Tao-tze, or the hall where the students are examined. The whole country which we had just passed over seemed intersected with streams, and must, from the lowness and small extent of the intervening of land, be often completely inundated. In returning from the tower I met two wheelbarrows, the first with two well-drest women, one on each side the wheel, and the other with a boy apparently belonging to them. A wheelbarrow seems a strange visiting conveyance for ladies. It is used in this part of China for carrying persons as well as goods; the former, I suppose, in general of the lower orders. I have before observed in other places, that female curiosity defied the Imperial edicts; it was most particularly the case here. The women, except the very poorest, were all painted. The object with Chinese women does not appear to be so much the imitation of the lily and the rose separated, as to give a strong carnation tint to the whole complexion; many had fine eyes, though angularly shaped, and were altogether tolerably attractive. The beggars were numerous, and impor-

ciliate to their countrymen; from us they neither solicited nor seemed to expect alms. We saw several going about with a bell or horn, and a basket; establishing themselves in a shop, they ring the one, or blow the other, till the basket is filled.

An intimation has been received from Kwang, that he was the more anxious upon all points connected with the embassy, from the actual presence at this city of the military Mandarin second in command at Canton, who was on his way to Pekin, and would of course report whatever he observed. Two temples that I visited to-day, and which I recognised as being similar to that in the suburb of Nankin, with figures of sages round the hall, were said to belong to the sect of Tao-tze, at least so conjectured from the large figure, seated immediately below the three principal deities, being called Lao-kiun*, the founder of the sects.

* Pere Fouquet says, that the chiefship of the sect of Tao-tze is hereditary, his title Teen-tsee, or heavenly doctor. Lao-kiun, the founder, arose during the dynasty of Tchoou: the great principle of his doctrine was religious abstraction, and indifference to worldly affairs; he asserted the existence of an absolute vacuum. Magic

25th.—In a walk round the walls I was most agreeably surprised, by coming upon the place where the examination* for the advancement in military rank was holding. The place might be called a stadium of about two hundred yards in length; at the upper end a temporary hall had been erected, with an elevated throne or seat; a row of Mandarins, in their full dresses, occupied each side, but the distance at which I stood did not enable me to ascertain whether the raised part was occupied by some Mandarins, or by a representation of the Imperial presence. At the extremity opposite to the hall was a wall of masonry, intended as a butt for military practice, and at a short distance in advance, a pyloo, from which the candidates, on horse-

is at present much practised by the priests of his sect, who are supposed to possess particular power over evil spirits. The doctrines of the Tao-tse have been represented injurious to morals, and to the well-being of society.

* This examination, on referring to the Missionary accounts, appears to have been that of Bachelors for Licentiate's degree. There are three degrees: Bachelor, Licentiate, and Doctor; Tsoou-tsee, Kien-gin, Tsin-tse. They are examined in all military manœuvres, and specially on the subject of encampments.

back, armed with a bow and three arrows, started: the marks at which they fired, covered with white paper, were about the height of a man, and somewhat wider, placed at intervals of fifty yards; the object was to strike these marks successively with the arrows, the horses being kept at full speed. Although the bull's eye was not always hit, the target was never missed: the distance was trifling, not exceeding fifteen or twenty feet. It appeared to me, that the skill was most displayed in charging the bow without checking the horse. The candidates were young Mandarins, handsomely drest: their horses, trimmings, and accoutrements were in good order; the arrows were merely pointed, without barbs, to prevent accidents, the spectators being within a few yards of the marks. On the whole the sight was interesting, and I much regretted that the pressure of the crowd, and the possibility of giving offence by any interruption that might thence arise to the ceremony, compelled me to remain only a few minutes. The circuit of the walls was five miles and a half.

Kwang, accompanied by the treasurer

and judge of the district of Gan-hwuy, called upon Lord Amherst, and was more than usually conciliatory in his language: he alluded to the regret he should feel on separating, asking the other Mandarins, "How shall I part with my friends?" And when Sir George expressed a hope that, Ikké Sung-ta-jin, he would dine on board the ships at Whampoa, he replied, that though in every respect inferior to that distinguished Mandarin, his feelings towards us were the same.

Soon after sunset a fire broke out in the suburb opposite to the boats, which was put out much sooner than I had expected; two houses only were destroyed. An offer of our fire-engines was civilly declined; indeed, as the city itself was supplied with them, they were not necessary. The principal officers here, as in Turkey, are obliged to attend on these occasions, and their arrival at the scene is announced by the usual salutes.

Kwang, in conversation, mentioned thirty days as the probable duration of the voyage to Canton, but forty if the wind was unfavourable. Both these periods

considerably exceed that of the former English or Dutch embassies; and it is conjectured that Kwang may have some interest in the delay, either connected with the termination of the embassy, or, in my opinion, with the more likely circumstance of his wish to obtain the situation of Hoppo, which might possibly be promoted by his being on the spot, when the solicitations of his friends at court were in the height of their activity.

26th of November.—Lord Amherst and Sir George Staunton, by Kwang's recommendation, visited a temple a few lees from the anchorage, and I had reason to lament the preference I gave to a cricket-match, which had been got up by the gentlemen of the embassy. The circumstance of taking part in a game of cricket at Nang-chang-foo is, however, more remarkable than the sight of an additional temple, and may console me in some degree for the loss. This temple has been erected by the salt merchants, and was appropriately dedicated to the god of riches. The gilding and ornaments of all kinds were exceedingly handsome. It has a garden and theatre

attached, and the whole was used for purposes of amusement as well as devotion.

27th of November.—We quitted our anchorage soon after daylight, with heavy rain and a good breeze; at the distance of four miles we entered the Kan-kho, leaving the Sing-chon-kho, the former branching off to the northward. At twelve we passed another branch on our right; our course has been frequently to the eastward of south. After rounding a hill with some fir trees at the summit, we arrived at Chee-cha-tang, a small town with a ruined pagoda of seven stories a short distance from it; the banks have been in general low, and the sandy flats, high mounds; and roots of the trees, are sufficient marks of frequent inundations. In our walk we saw some of the wax and camphor tree; the latter of a very large size. A temple in the town contained a complete exhibition of the punishments in hell, not, I think, of the same character as those formerly described under the name of the Ten Kings. I am inclined to suppose that the authors who have written upon China have too much simplified the religions prevalent in

that country, for it is impossible to refer the symbols or figures of the different idols that have come under our observation to the great divisions of sects established in their writings. I should apprehend that the Chinese mythology is one of the most various that has ever existed; and it would be matter of curious inquiry, to ascertain whether there be any origin and history common to the multitude of the different gods, to be met with in their temples.

This day has been a tolerable trial of the new boats, which have stood it much better than was expected, their upper works being only matting; they rise very much forward, and the larger kind are almost as high abaft. In accommodation and size they are much inferior to our former boats, a greater number is consequently required: their general description is long and narrow, with a small draught of water. Better were certainly procurable, and, unless resistance had been shewn, worse would have been supplied: so much for Chinese politeness. The Foo-yuen at Nang-chang-foo having literally taken no notice of the presence of the embassy, Lord Amherst

thought it right not to let such rudeness pass without remark, and sent a message, by Mr. Morrison, to Kwang, expressing his dissatisfaction and surprise, which was the greater, as the Viceroy, the Foo-yuen's* immediate superior, had behaved so differently.

28th of November.—The rain still continues, and renders the scene very uncomfortable: should this weather last, we can hardly depend upon the mat coverings of our boats being able to resist the constant drenching. The banks have been partially wooded, villages not frequent, with the military posts at small intervals.—At ten. On our right we passed some hills of red sand-stone, which seems the principal component of the strata hereabouts. The banks of the river, for a few lees, were high. At eleven o'clock I remarked a temple whose situation, under more favourable circumstances of weather, would have been picturesque: about two we arrived at our anchorage close to Poong-ling-hien, dis-

* The Foo-yuen is the governor of one province, subordinate, however, to the Trong-tou, usually translated Viceroy, whose jurisdiction extends over two provinces.

tance sixty lees. The matoos, or landing-places, were particularly well made, with stone steps. Foong-lihg-hien is a walled town, with one long street, containing a few large shops; there was nothing of sufficient interest to make us regret the rainy day as unfavourable to exploring. I observed one shop with paintings of rather superior execution. The din of Chinese music has been more than usually annoying at this anchorage.

29th of November.—At half past nine we passed a guard-house with a strong stone embankment near to it; the width of the river, soon after, was nearly a quarter of a mile, and persons were employed either in repairing or constructing a stone embankment similar to that just passed. From these embankments, and the numerous gravelly flats both on the bank and in the centre of the river, the stream must be of considerable width and rapidity at certain seasons. At eleven, passed Seang-ko-kea, a hamlet, with a temple situated among some fine camphor trees*: although immediately near the river, the banks have

* Laurus camphora.

been generally a mere gravelly beach: a little beyond, the country looks well, being prettily diversified with wood. The gravelly flats are numerous, and the frequent shallows prove the necessity of boats drawing as little water as those in which we now are. Our course has been much to the westward of south.—One o'clock. We passed two streams on our right, one of them either the Lin-kiang, or a branch of the same. At half past three we passed, on our left, Chang-shoo, a town of some extent, on the banks of the river; the houses were either of red brick, or painted of that colour; they looked neat and substantial. Proceeding ten lees further, we anchored at Lin-kiang-ho-keu, or the mouth of the Lin-kiang river: the city of that name is twenty lees inland, something to the northward. The river, I was told by the boatmen, is here divided into two branches, and that we are anchored in the smaller. On the whole, the scenery of this last day's journey, seventy lees, must, in fine weather, be pretty; very little cultivation in sight: no remission of rain, which, though disagreeable at present, will, we are told,

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facilitate our progress further on. The use of the elevated forecastle in increasing, by the declivity, the impetus of the men while poling, is particularly evident in our present boats, where our progress is chiefly effected by that means.

30th of November.—The rain, heaven be praised, has ceased, and we are restored to light and fresh air.—Nine o'clock. We passed a small village, and shortly afterwards a military post, remarkable for its pretty situation, in a clump of camphor and other trees; at half past eleven, the town of Yanda, with a tower of nine stories, of good proportions, but not high; the houses extended some distance, and were interspersed with trees: one range of mountains E. S. E. another nearly continuous to the southward. At twelve we passed the point of Tay-in-chow, an island with a temple: the boatmen here made an offering of fire-works and burnt paper to the Poo-sa: immediately opposite there was a hamlet, Sha-koo. The villages today have been small, but frequent, and with good houses. I have been much struck with the fine spreading branches,

and deep green foliage, of the camphor tree. Tay-in-chow is thirty lees from Lin-kiang.—Two o'clock. Temple and guard-house of Sho-kou-tang, one of those situations which always make me regret not having sufficient knowledge of drawing to record, in a sketch, the characteristic combinations of scenery in the different countries I may visit. The roof and general architecture of the temple was in the best Chinese style, the clump of trees very beautiful, a guard of soldiers occupied the fore-ground, and the whole was backed by a picturesque range of mountains. We have to-day met several long rafts with so many huts on them, that at a distance they look like flats in the middle of the stream, with small villages.

At a quarter to three we saw the paou-ta of Sing-kan-hien, nine stories. The stream narrows very much here; a low range of hills near the river, on the left bank; mountains forming an amphitheatre, and afterwards dividing into ranges; the lowest on our left. At half past four we were abreast of Sing-kou-hien, a town appearing of some extent, with mountains behind

it; the adjacent country prettily wooded, with much variety of ground: our anchorage is opposite to the town, probably as much for convenience as from jealousy. Orange groves have been seen this morning; the shortness of my sight has prevented me from remarking them; my eye has, however, been amply gratified by contemplating the rich green foliage of the camphor tree, which, combined with the wide spread of its branches, renders it equal in beauty to any of the trees of English scenery; and as it is also an evergreen, a country where it abounds may defy the baring violence of winter. The wax bush* was found near the village.

1st of December.—An accident met with by the Chin-chac's boat, together with the violence of the wind, have detained us at this anchorage, named Kyapoo. As we found a good cricket-ground, the time did not hang upon our hands; and, indeed, amusement being the scarcest of all commodities in China, I did not re-

* Ligustrum lucidum: the Chinese name is pe-la-shoo. The wax is deposited by a species of insects; the trees which I saw resembled a large thorn bush.

gret the delay. Difficulties were thrown in the way of those who wished to visit the town, and I do not believe any succeeded in getting over the water. As a place of no importance, the opposition, at the moment, did not signify; I trust, however, that we shall not find a system of abridging our liberty, about to commence. The brown cotton*, not in cultivation, but immediately freed from the husk, has been met with: when worked into thread it is much more coloured than in the raw state; in the latter the colour is only partially diffused; I should therefore apprehend some dyeing process is employed.

2d of December,—The morning was fine though cold, and the wind fair. At eight we passed a military post and village, at the foot of the hills, which here reached to the water's edge; there was a temple opposite, to the deity of which the boatmen made an offering of incense. From the repetition of these offerings I should infer, that they were more religious than the crews of our former boats. At thirty

* Hibicus religiosus.

lees we passed the village and military post of Yin-ho; our course here much to the westward. Waving a flag, I observed, is part of the salute from the Chinese guard; whatever be the weather the salute is not omitted, but in some measure to alleviate the severity of the service, the soldiers are allowed to use umbrellas in case of rain. About twelve we arrived at Kya-kiang-hien, sixty lees, where it was supposed we should anchor, as it is the regular stage. Some of us landed, and were surprised to find the gates of the town not only shut, but with an outward covering of mats; a *chevaux-de-frise* occupied one flank of the entrance, where the landing-places had been erected, and the whole looked like preparations for a siege. These precautions may either arise from a change of system, or merely from the personal character of the governor: the latter I think most probable. The loss was not great, as it seemed a place of no extent or importance. Our boats continued their progress in a few minutes: the mountains behind us formed a fine amphitheatre, and the scene was altogether interesting. At

half past one we passed a ruined pao-ta of nine stories, which the boatmen called Mou-cha-ming; it looked the mutilated survivor of some severe storm.

Soon after passing a small village, the mountains closed so as to give a narrow passage to the river betwixt them. On clearing this, at a quarter before five, we reached our anchorage, forty lees from Kya-kiang-hien, one hundred being the day's journey. This activity interferes very much with the speculations respecting Kwang's wish to delay, and leaves only the ordinary course of events to account for the length of our voyage. Foo-koo-tang appearing an insignificant village, we took a short walk into the country, where we met with some pits of coal that had been sunk like wells; the fragments at the bottom of the hill where they were situated appeared pure slate. I am inclined to think the coal itself of the species called blind coal, from its softness and slaty structure: the strata near the pits were chiefly calcareous. The mountains have presented an uniform appearance of barrenness.

3d of December.—The course of the river winds so much that we often seem on a lake, completely surrounded by mountains. In the clearness of its water the Kan differs materially from the rivers over which we have travelled; the bed is gravelly, with rocks in places, rendering the navigation not free from danger...One of our boats struck upon a rock just covered by the water, and would probably in a wider stream have gone down. At twelve o'clock, forty lees, we passed on our right Ky-shwuy-shien, a walled town, extending some distance in the direction of the bank, and prettily situated at a narrowing of the river by the mountains. Many gardens and groves were inclosed within the walls: the houses did not occupy much of the area. A temple of two stories, now in ruins, seemed to have been a handsome building: the Paou-ta was in a similar state. The long sandy flat, stretching from the point near the most inhabited part of the town, must probably prevent this town being much resorted to by boats on the voyage up and down. I here observed one of the rafts, already

mentioned, worked by long sweeps at the head and stern. At a quarter past three we passed Tay-chew, a pretty little town, situated among some very fine trees. A new looking Paou-ta, opposite to the town, in exceedingly bad proportions, evinced the decay of architecture among the Chinese.

Half-past four. We anchored at Kygan-foo, and immediately landing, crossed in a ferry-boat the small branch of the river, forming a wet ditch to this face of the town. The city is not of great extent, situated on an eminence; and the greatest space within the walls is occupied in gardens, small fields, and inclosed grounds, belonging to some of the larger dwelling-houses. The roads, for the houses are so far distant from each other that the term street is scarcely applicable, were well paved with small tiles: one main street, conducting to the suburb, was the only one deserving the appellation. The public offices were large buildings; and, from the extent of the outward walls, I should suppose that there were several large proprietors resident within their circuit.

In the suburbs, however, all the busy and commercial part of the population resided; and from the new shops just occupied, and others building, this quarter was evidently improving. There were several large cotton warehouses; in others I saw bales of a substance which was either hemp, or the fibres of the bark of some trees; several large shops were filled with bales of the cloth called nankeen, both brown and white; much silk in skains was also to be met with. We saw oranges and shaddocks in the market, neither looking good nor ripe. No opposition was made to our entrance into the city, so that the precautions taken yesterday were merely local. On our return, we crossed the water at a ford, not opposite to our boats, where I was surprised to find a crowd assembled to catch a glimpse of the few amongst us who might pass that way; having so little occupation for their eyes, they seemed to continue together either from the principle of mere gregariousness, or to listen to their own shouts. We passed some handsome looking temples, in the street of the suburbs immediately facing

the river. Within these few last days our anchorage has been inclosed by a railing, and I apprehend that the inhabitants are prohibited from passing the boundary; this will in some measure account for the apparently absurd position taken up by the crowd just mentioned.

It is useful to mark the progressive impressions respecting the amount of population, as the ultimate opinion will be more accurate from collecting these several recollections, and with this view I must here confirm my former assertion, that in the country through which we have lately passed, with the exception of Nang-chang-foo, placed as it will be recollected when we passed under circumstances calculated to increase the ordinary assemblage, no exuberance of population, comparing China with any of the tolerably flourishing countries of Europe or Asia, has been observed. Much land, from want of draining, is left uncultivated; and other lands, in more favourable situations, occasionally appear neglected. The practice among the labouring classes, of taking their meals, as part of their wages, at

eating-houses, gives a greater appearance of populousness to the streets; and if to this be added the accumulation of spectators from the novelty of the sight wherever we pass, I should be inclined to doubt both the universal cultivation of the soil, and the excessive population ascribed to China.

4th of December.—Some pretty woodland country extends in a parallel direction, immediately beyond the sandy flat forming the branch of the river. At nine we passed on our right Taing-kou-too, a large village, well situated in a small bay formed by the river. On looking back, the view of this place was highly picturesque, the mountains forming a lofty skreen behind the houses. Some boats were anchored here, and there was a pleasing appearance of bustle and population. The river winds very much, and beautiful clumps of trees are frequent on the banks: hills take the place of mountains. On our right the soil is of a reddish colour, on our left loose and sandy; the beach covered with pebbles; and the width of the river interrupted by long flats. The country

towards evening was uninteresting. We anchored at seven o'clock, at Wang-kan, a small hamlet under a high bank, having accomplished ninety lees in fourteen hours, much of the distance by the labour of the crews in poling and tracking. The endurance of fatigue by the boatmen was most remarkable in this day's journey; there was scarcely any intermission to their exertions, and, with the thermometer as low as forty-five or fifty degrees, they were in the water* several times during the day. Their diet is chiefly rice, with a small quantity of animal food: the use of spirituous liquors is not habitual, certainly not daily. There was an unusual noise of loos and wooden instruments during the night; I did not ascertain whether it had any connexion with the eclipse of the moon, visible about three in the morning: in this longitude it was but partial.

* At night, when their labours are closed, the boatmen wash their bodies with hot water; rather, I suppose, to remove the stiffness of their joints, than from notions of cleanliness: the washing even at this season took place in the air.

5th of December.—At eight we passed a Paou-ta on our right, with the top so inclined as to threaten falling; as, however, it has continued in the same state for the last twenty years, the danger is probably not imminent. At ten we reached Tay-ho-hein, a walled town, with a handsome gate, the walls in ruins. On the opposite side the bank presented a beautiful richness of foliage, where the evergreen of the camphor was finely contrasted with the departing autumnal tints of the other trees. The river near Fang-shan-kou, a military post and village with good shops, was divided by an island, Tcho-ko-chow. A few lees in advance we came upon some large plantations of the sugar-cane. The navigation after sunset must be extremely dangerous, there being several rocks just even with the water's edge; strong currents set round some of the projecting points, which it requires great exertion in the trackers to stem. Our present boats are very manageable, and, though perhaps not pleasing to a seaman's eye, are, when under sail, from their form, long in proportion to their breadth, and their lofty

curved prows, very picturesque objects. We anchored at Paou-tou, not being able to reach Pe-tcha-tsung: the usual stage distance ninety lees. I picked up some pieces of granite on the bank; it did not, however, seem to me that any of the adjacent mountains were composed of it.

6th of December.—We left our anchorage some time before daylight, and at half past seven saw Pe-tcha-tsung on our left: the banks steep. At twelve we passed an old pagoda, opposite to the village of Lo-ko-wang, where a small stream fell into the river. This place is twenty lees from Wan-gan-shien, which we reached at two o'clock. Mountains on both sides, in the range to the eastward and northward of considerable elevation: on the summit of a hill to the southward are the ruins of a small tower. The approach to this town is picturesque, and the effect of the mountainous scenery was heightened by the gloominess of the weather. No objection was made to our entering the town, the walls of which are close to the river; their circuit, which I made on the rampart, is about two miles.

The shops, though small and uninteresting to us, were well supplied with all the common necessaries required by travellers. Vegetables in great abundance, and of good quality; indeed the quantity of eatables exposed for sale considerably exceeded the probable demand of the inhabitants. On the whole, there was an air of bustle and prosperity about the town, which has not been the case in those we have passed since Nang-chang-foo.

Near the river-gate there are two large temples, one of which was interesting to me as being the most complete hall of ancestors or worthies that I have met with. The space in the front of the temple, usually occupied by the idol, contained a number of oblong tablets, inscribed with the names of those persons whose virtuous lives had entitled them to this pre-eminence in honour. The compartments in each side of the hall were filled with similar tablets; many appeared ancient. The honour of a tablet is naturally an object of posthumous ambition, and filial piety has been known to make great pecuniary sacrifices to obtain it for deceased parents.

Were the principle of the institution maintained in its purity, it would present a simple but powerful excitement to moral conduct among the living. Immediately outside the wall, farthest from the river, there were two public schools, one of which either building, or under repair, was dedicated to Wang-chang, I believe either the God of Literature, or a deified man, who protected learning in his lifetime. Red sand-stone is much used in building, and a large py-loo in this town, made of it, was, I think, the best specimen of this style of Chinese architecture that I have seen. On the sides were two small porticos, supported by square columns; the centre was the usual square gateway; the upper part of the porticos and gateway, decorated with sculpture, were not ill executed. In the town were some good dwelling-houses, with small gardens attached; the orange and shaddocks were growing in them. Small palm-trees * mark our approach to the tropic. Some temporary buildings, and an inclosure of matting,

* Sago rumphius, or Sago palm.

painted red, were erected before our boats; altogether more preparation has been lately made for the reception of the embassy at the anchorages. In the shops I observed several pieces of unwrought iron, about six inches in length and one in thickness; but could not learn whether it came from any mines in the neighbourhood. The variety of commodities for sale in the same shop has often surprised me: in this particular instance, iron, gypsum *, much used by the Chinese in medicine, spices, linen drapery, leather purses, lanterns, with many other articles, were to be met with together. These must be intended for the convenience of the boats, that may often put in only for a few minutes, and therefore want supplies of all kinds at once. The crowd here was so little troublesome, that their curiosity seemed scarcely excited by our appearance.

7th of December.—A gratuity yesterday evening to the boatmen announced our approach this day to the Shi-pa-tan, or

* Gypsum is used by Chinese physicians as a remedy or preventive of the effects of mercurial preparations upon the system.

eighteen cataracts, the terrors of this inland navigation; we have passed ten during the day, which certainly had nothing formidable: they arise from the interruption of the river in its course by reefs of rocks; in some there was merely a strong rippling in the water, in others they were trifling breakers. Military posts are at very short intervals. At ten we passed a small temple, where the boatmen made an offering; of a much larger one, dedicated to Ta-wang, they took no notice. At a quarter after twelve, seventy lees from Wan-gan-shien, we saw Woo-tzu, a village, very prettily situated near the river. Ten lees in advance, we arrived at Kwein-ling, our anchorage. This day's journey has been highly interesting, from the peculiar beauty of the scenery: the river flows between two ranges of mountains, its beds in places narrowed to a defile; while in others, as at our anchorage, the sandy flats mark that the width of the stream is often considerable; the lower parts of the mountains have been frequently well wooded, and the windings of the river have presented them under highly picturesque

points of view. Kwein-ling, an insignificant village. Ascending the mountains near it, the scene was remarkable, from the wavy appearance assumed by the different hills, mostly of a conical shape: the valleys were cultivated in terraces, increasing in height, and diminishing in width, as they advanced towards the body of the range; the whole had a very striking, if not a beautiful effect. All these mountains were in a state of great disintegration: the soil on them is of a deep red colour, produced, as I conceive, from the red sand-stone forming their principal component. Granite existed in large blocks at the bottom. Large plantations of the camellia and of firs * covered the sides of the hills. Here we saw the species of pine first brought to England by the last embassy. Some orange-trees were seen, but without fruit; we have not as yet found any that were ripe, or worth eating.

8th of December.—Leaving Kwein-ling, and clearing the narrow passage of the river near it, we passed a pretty wooded

* Pinus lanceolatus.

island. Having proceeded a few lees we anchored at Leang-kou, a small town, to await the arrival of three boats that had not joined us the preceding evening. A small stream was here crossed, by a long wooden bridge built of slight materials, but well adapted for the situation: the bed of the river marking that its width must vary considerably with the season. The wild tea was found here. Mountainous scenery of the same character as yesterday. Continuing our journey we anchored at Seechow, sixty lees distant from Kwein-ling. At four o'clock we passed one of the most rapid *tans* or difficult waters. Like other Chinese accounts, we have found the danger from these reefs much exaggerated. The course of the river is, however, so much interrupted by them, as to render the navigation impracticable in this season, except by daylight. Our anchorage at a small island was well wooded. The camphor trees were particularly large, and covered with parasites. A Mandarin who accompanied us in our walk, said that the Chinese attributed the growth of these plants to seeds dropped by birds upon the

trees where they afterwards took roo
this notion has more accuracy than be
longs generally to Chinese philosophy, a
least it seems scarcely to belong to th
same family, as the production of quai
from frogs. A tree with a large leaf re
sembling that of the sycamore was pointe
out, from which an oil is expressed, use
to preserve the timbers of junks, and co
sidered next in efficacy to the varni
tree *.

9th of December.—The river at fir
somewhat wider. At nine we passed Y
tung, a small village situated on a bl
point, near which a small stream seem
to fall into the river off an island which th
boatmen called See-ya-chow; the wat
was so shallow, that a passage had be
formed by clearing away the sand on ea
side for the boats. Workmen were st
waiting with their scrapers to deepen t
channel, or to assist in pushing the boa
through if required: the channel w
marked out by twigs, and on either si
in places there were only a few inches

* I know not if this be the Tong-shoo: the name
the varnish tree is Tsi-shoo.

water. At twelve o'clock we anchored at Tien-see-tu to allow the boatmen to dine, and afterwards proceeding till past two, finally brought up at Ling-tang-miao, several of the boats being astern. The country here presented the same billowy expanse of mountains that has been before mentioned, throughout in a state of great disintegration. Clay-slate and sand-stone composed the summit, and granite, compact lime-stone, and gray-wacke occupied the bottom. The valleys were watered by mountain streams, and carefully cultivated in terraces. From observing one side of the hills generally covered with the camellia while the other was bare, or bore only a few plants, I should conclude that aspect is of great consequence to its successful culture. I have remarked that the pine mentioned as peculiar to China, which looks a deciduous tree and particularly hardy, is generally planted on the same situations with the camellia; from this circumstance one might infer the possibility of the latter being naturalized in our climates. The water-mills used for bruising the husks of the camellia, and the machine

for ultimately expressing the oil, were seen here.

A py-loo is carried in one of the boats to be erected wherever the Chin-chae may stop, should the poverty of the place not furnish this necessary appendage of his rank. The skull of a notorious robber was suspended in a grating at the top of a pole near our anchorage; he had been the terror of the country for years, and had committed many murders. I believe this posthumous punishment is reserved by the Chinese law for such crimes as treason and murder. Our day's journey has been thirty lees.

10th of December.—At eight o'clock, about twenty lees from our anchorage, we passed the most difficult tan or rapid; the boatmen called it Tien-su-tan. A Mandarin was on duty on shore, accompanied by soldiers and other persons, to assist in getting the boats through the passage: the water is of such various depths, and the rocks in places so near the water's edge, that the passage must often be attended with danger. Indeed the recent wreck of a large boat sufficiently attested the necessity of precautions. At eleven

we passed a large village, Sing-mino-tseen, near to which the channel had been deepened for the occasion. The men were still at work to remove the sand thrown in by the passage of the different boats. A flat board driven forward with handles by two men collected the sand, which three others drew by cords, to which a small beam was attached. Chou-tan, a small town with some good houses and two large buildings, was said to contain a remarkable temple.

Understanding that the city of Kan-choo-foo was only twenty lees distant from a ruined pagoda which we saw at two o'clock, I landed and walked to the point, where the rivers here called Tung-ho, East River, and See-ho, West River, the first coming from Fo-kien, join; and there crossed the united stream, to the walls of the city. In my walk I passed some fields cultivated with the pig-nut. The tops are cut off with a sharp iron, and the root is then dug up from the depth of four or five inches; the earth is sifted from the nut in a wooden grating or sieve. Some fine trees of the Yung-shoo, a species of ficus surpassing the camphor in the luxuriant spreading of

their branches, hung over the bank of the river. The soil here was generally sandy, and seemed scarcely to repay the labour of cultivation.

Kan-choo-foo, seen from a distance, appears extensive. It is situated on the banks of the Tung-ho and See-ho rivers, otherwise Chang-kho and Kang-kho; the bank of the latter of such elevation, as to require stone terraces for the support of the wall built on the summit. This gives a peculiar character to the town, and the effect was heightened as the boats approached, by the position of the crowds on the top of the walls hanging over them in anxious curiosity. A stone quay extends for some distance on this side, with handsome landing-places of long stone steps. At the top of these a temporary building had been erected, and decorated with flags for the reception of the Chin-chae; the walls were in good order, and in some places had been recently repaired. At the north-eastern extremity of the wall there is a high building of three stories looking like a gate; it is, however, only used as a watch-tower. It was so late in the evening when I got into the city

that little was to be seen, and unless we remain here to-morrow, I must be satisfied with the exterior, in describing which I must not forget the pagoda of nine stories, and apparently of an unusual shape. Many of the boats did not arrive till two hours after sunset, in consequence of the difficulty in getting over the shallows; the passage, from the narrowness of the channel immediately at the junction of the rivers, was particularly difficult for the larger boats at that hour.

11th of December.—The necessity of changing the boats in which the presents are embarked for smaller has delayed us here, and given us time to examine the city. Its situation at the junction of the rivers Chang and Kan, communicating with the commercial provinces of Fo-kien and Quang-tung, renders it a place of importance. The exchanges or halls for the meeting of the merchants belonging to the principal cities or provinces are large and handsome buildings, in the style of the best Chinese temples. In the two which I visited, that of Ky-gan-foo and Fo-kien, there was an elevated stage for theatrical

representation: in the former an entertainment had taken place the night of our arrival, which in passing I observed to be attended by numerous spectators of all classes. The hall of the Fo-kien merchants was dedicated to the goddess of navigation, who is also the tutelary deity of the province. These buildings are originally built and subsequently maintained by private subscriptions. The shops were not large, nor did they contain great variety of goods: the most considerable were the tea shops. On the other hand, however, many of the streets were spacious (for a Chinese city), contained good houses, and, though not crowded with population, were nowhere empty. Crossing the city from the gate near our anchorage to within a few yards of the wall on the opposite side, we reached the Paou-ta, the building of the kind, with the exception of that of Lin-tsin-foo, most worth seeing on our journey. It is in form a hexagon of nine stories, the basement story wide in proportion to the others, which gradually diminish; the stucco on the outside is dark grey on a white ground, and has a good

effect; the projecting roofs of the stories are hexagonal, with grotesque porcelain ornaments at the angles. Iron balls, elliptical in shape, rise from the summit, terminating at last in a point. This tower was originally built in the reign of Keatsing, three hundred years since; it has been frequently, and indeed recently repaired.

After some delay we succeeded in obtaining admission to a hall of Confucius * (Koong-foo-tze) close to the tower, in a

* The writings of Confucius have merited and obtained the attention of the missionaries, and it is not to be denied that his philanthropy and patriotism have justly entitled his name to immortality, and his memory to gratitude, at least among his countrymen. Born in an age when both religion and morality were neglected, he endeavoured to reform the conduct of the sovereign and the people, not by pretended revelations, but by a simple exposition of the principles most conducive to the well-being of society. The mode in which he connected his doctrine with the Kings or sacred books is a proof of his knowledge of our nature, ever yielding to authority, and more especially to antiquity, what would be refused to reason, *dum veterа extollimus, recentium incuriosi.* Confucius, in the application of his maxims to the conduct of life, and in his method of teaching, resembled Socrates, and was much superior to his cotemporary Lao-kiun, whose scepticism and indifference to worldly affairs were neither calculated to make great men, nor good citizens. Confucius was

much better state than any we had yet seen. These buildings are known by the semicircular baths in the first court, and the long galleries surrounding the courts, generally filled with tablets of his immediate disciples, sages, and worthy men. Small sand-stone columns supported these galleries, while some of larger dimensions formed a portico to the present buildings. Philosophy, though it may justly ridicule the extravagancies of national superstition, will readily excuse the veneration paid to the tablet of Confucius, bearing the simple inscription " of the spot being the seat of the soul of the most renowned teacher of

born in the sixth century before the christian era, in the province of Shan-tung.

Notwithstanding the merits of Confucius, I am not, however, aware that either interest or instruction are to be derived by Europeans, from a perusal of his writings. The maxims of good government as applicable to despotism, and the principles of moral conduct in private life, have been understood in all ages and countries not absolutely barbarous; they are contained in the commonplace book of mankind, in the consciences of individuals. To influence practice they must receive the sanction either of divine revelation or of human laws, and the only useful works on such subjects are those, that apply the general principles to the particular circumstances of different societies.

antiquity." The appeal is chiefly to the mind and not to the eye of the votary, and the honours paid on stated occasions by the civil officers of government in these halls to the memory of the sage, surrounded as they are by the tablets of those among his followers, who have deserved and obtained their share of similar posthumous respect, must often stimulate individuals to an honourable imitation of their virtues. Chinese sculptures, though deficient in polish and correctness of design, certainly excel in the relief, and from some modern specimens in this building, it would appear, that this part of the art had not declined.

Immediately next to the hall of Confucius was another, dedicated to Quang-foo-tze, the patron of the military, as the former is of the civil order: he was in his lifetime a distinguished warrior, and his statue occupied the place of the tablet. Quang-foo-tze has been promoted by the present Emperor to higher celestial honours, as his Majesty was disposed to attribute the suppression of the late rebellion to his auspices. Such promotions

are not unusual, and mark the extensive powers assumed by the Son of Heaven. The lacquered ware, for which Kan-choo-foo is remarkable, was found to be of the lowest kind, and could only be recommended by its cheapness. It has been remarked, that all the great national monuments were executed in the reign of the Ming dynasty; the best works of art of all kinds belong to the same period, so that the last Tartar conquerors of China would seem to have communicated the barbarism, without the energy of their ancestors.

12th of December.—The river soon after our departure from Kan-choo-foo wound very much to the eastward, and during the day has been so devious in its course, that though much time has been employed, our day's journey to Woo-tang has been scarcely forty lees: we have been twice detained to wait for the heavier boats that grounded frequently. On the whole, however, the river has not diminished as much as I expected from the loss of the tributary waters of the Chang.—Ten o'clock. The bank on our right was high, in places

prettily wooded. We passed the village of Nean-ming. The spreading yung-shoo still the chief ornament of the scene. This tree is remarkable for branching out from the ground, so that many may be said to be without any distinct stem; the roots frequently bared assumed the most intricate and grotesque twistings. At twelve o'clock we passed a ruined pagoda, which continued visible nearly the remainder of the day. Near this point I landed and walked to the anchorage. On the road I saw the machinery at work for expressing the tallow from the berries of the tree*. It is, I believe, of the same description as that used for the camellia. The berries are first cut by a small wheel worked in a groove backwards and forwards by two men; after being softened by steam, they are in certain quantities laid upon layers of straw, bound together by iron hoops so as to form a cake; these cakes are placed in a trough formed of an excavated tree, and are compressed together by wedges placed at the other end driven in by

* Stillingia sebifera.

swinging horizontal beams, worked by three, two, or one man; the beam is only applied to three projecting wedges, two for the pressure, and one for loosing the whole when the cakes are sufficiently pressed. The surface of compression is regulated by a number of smaller wedges; a tub is placed under the cakes to receive the tallow. The cakes are after compression used for manure. It struck me as I looked at the workmen covering the hot berries with the straw, which was done by the motion of the feet, that the step might be successfully transferred to the dancing school: the association of so trivial an idea is, I fear, a proof of my want of taste and zeal in scientific observation. The whole machinery appeared to me clumsy, rude, and an excessive consumption of human labour. At our anchorage we found the varnish tree*; it was cultivated in plantations, and was not higher than a young fruit tree; the leaves are shaped like the laurel, of a light green and downy feel; the varnish is extracted by slitting the

* Rhus vernix.

bark. It is necessary to guard the hands, as the leaves, if bruised, produce sores on the skin, at least so said the Chinese soldiers, and their practice confirmed their assertion. Orange and shaddock trees were also seen, but not in abundance.

The villages to-day have been frequent, and the population has evidently increased. We have all particularly remarked the beauty of the women; a few would have scarcely yielded to the prettiest of our countrywomen: though the peculiarities of Chinese features were still to be traced, they were so harmonized by general beauty, that so far from displeasing, they added novelty to the other charms of the countenance: these objects of our hopeless admiration were all of the lower orders, and a majority had their feet uncramped by the tyranny of custom. A ready disposition to laugh, even though they themselves or their manners be the subject of the joke, is the best quality I have observed among the Chinese, and I find it difficult to separate this habitual cheerfulness, from those other moral qualities with which it is usually connected.

In the course of my walk I crossed several stone bridges of a single arch thrown over either ravines or beds of torrents. The country exhibited those appearances of continued degradation of the higher surface already noticed. The rocks were chiefly red sand-stone, with minute layers of clay-slate in places, that seemed to have either been situated out of the reach, or to have resisted the degrading process.

13th of December.—River winds very much, and is perceptibly diminished in breadth: the country, for the first fifteen lees, is uninteresting, principally plantations of sugar-cane: at twenty lees distance passed San-kiang-kou, a small stream falling in on the right. The Chinese water-wheel has been seen this day; it is made entirely of bamboo, is thirty-eight feet in height, and is turned by the stream: instead of buckets, pieces of bamboo are used about two feet in length, placed at an angle of twenty degrees to the periphery of the wheel; four are successively discharged into a trough placed parallel to the wheel, and communicating with another conducting the water to the fields;

the number of bamboos is forty-seven, placed at a distance from each other of twenty inches; the upright frame of timber in which the wheel rests is of fir; every other part, even the ropes by which the buckets were attached to the wheel, were bamboo. The river is dammed up for a short distance near the wheel, for the purpose of increasing and giving regularity to the movement; when required, the wheel is stopped by a rope fixed to one of the spokes, and to an upright of the frame.

The machinery used by the Chinese for making sugar is said not to differ in principle from that used in the West Indies. Motion is communicated by buffaloes harnessed to a lever, which is attached to the axis of one of two cylinders of stone, working into each other by means of cogs. The canes, passed through a wedge-shaped aperture, with the smaller opening outwards, are squeezed between the stones; the juice drops underneath into a pipe leading to a receiver in the boiling-room, where it is boiled in shallow pans; and after the molasses has been allowed to subside, and the sugar assumes a solid appearance, it is put into tubs.

We passed New-kow-lang, a milit post. The boats have frequently requir during the day, the labour of several n to drag them over the shallows, our p gress has therefore been slow, not exce ing forty lees. I could not learn any na for our anchorage, nor indeed was th any village near. Spectators, howe even at the late hour we arrived, were wanting: on the whole, the population perceptibly increased within these few days, and the inhabitants are better lo ing and better clothed.

14th of December.—I was more annoy this morning by the noise of the bo getting under weigh than I have bef allowed myself to feel; nothing is done China without noise and rout, and it is completely national, that their Mandari on public occasions, so far from attem ing to maintain tranquillity, scarcely pear to notice the invariable confusion clamour around them. The Chinese certainly a noisy and nasty people; may, perhaps, add to the alliteration, a without exaggeration, say nefarious. course has wound so much, that I was s prised at our reaching Nan-gan-hien

early as we did in the evening, the distance being forty lees. The shallows have been still more frequent, and the labour of getting on the boats consequently greater. The approach to Nan-gan-hien, a small walled town, is pretty, and the buildings promise better in the exterior than is realized on a nearer approach. Matous and very handsome temporary buildings had been prepared for the reception of the embassy. With a few bamboo poles, some red cloth flags, and coloured gauze lanterns, the Chinese erect these buildings, which at night have really a very good effect, at very little expense of time or trouble: they consist of one apartment, are furnished with chairs and tables, and tea is generally at hand. It is not unusual to have a picture representing an old man and young child, at the bottom of the apartment, as an emblem of good fortune. On the summits of two hills, near the town, are two ruined paou-tas, which had been visible for the greater part of the day's journey. We proceed so slowly, that a party landed, played a game of cricket, and joined the boats some hours

before we anchored. The banks of the river were high; cultivation, wheat and sugar-cane.

15th of December.—Our anchorage this day, about twenty lees from Sin-chin-tang, the usual stage; no village was near; the river confined between hills of various elevation, prettily wooded. An old ruined paou-ta occupied the summit of one of them. I should suppose our progress had been less interrupted, as we arrived about four o'clock, having come forty lees. The country has not varied in appearance.

16th of December.—At half past twelve o'clock we reached Sin-chin-tang, a small town twenty lees from our last night's anchorage. Our progress has been much impeded by the dams belonging to the water-wheels extending across the river so as scarcely to leave a passage for the boats. At five o'clock we passed a small village; a lofty range of mountains is in the front, too near, however, to be that separating us from the province of Canton, now become the object of our desires: indeed the weather has been so unfavourable today from unceasing rain, the interruptions

to our advance have been so frequent, and the labour of our boatmen so incessant, that the prospect of deliverance has been more anxiously looked to than ever. My boat did not anchor till late at night, and I found myself separated from the rest of the fleet. During the darkness, the mutual cries of the men in the boat, and those tracking on shore, were most dissonant; they were, however, the only guides they could rely upon, the few paper lanterns giving a most uncertain light. It will be fortunate if no accident happen, as during the day the trackers had some difficulty in preventing themselves from being overcome by the resistance of the stream to the boats.

17th of December.—My boatmen tell me that our last night's anchorage was at Wi-tang, sixty-five lees from Nan-gan-foo. Our boats are completely separated. The Chin-chae and the Embassador in advance. The banks high, and prettily wooded with bamboos, hanging their graceful fringe into the water. Whatever may be the superiority of Europeans in outward appearance of bone and muscle, I much doubt

whether many could be found capable of the labour which our boatmen are now undergoing; they are often obliged to track the boats with the water above their knees, against a stream, rendered in places by the dams a torrent, and over a slippery stony bottom: the sandals of straw, which some of them wear, are a partial protection to their feet; these, however, are not general, and they may be said to work barefooted: these sandals merely cover the sole, and are so classical in shape, that they reminded me of the πέδιλα of the Greeks. Yesterday our men worked sixteen hours, and had it not been for the separation of the fleet, a repetition awaited them to-day, the intention being to have reached Nan-gan-foo; as it is, we anchored at a small nameless island, distant thirty lees. The river winds among the mountains through scenery magnificent in itself, but with which we have now become saturated.

Kwang, who arrived at the island last night, paid a visit to Lord Amherst, to make civil inquiries how he had escaped the perils of the journey: his manner and language were, as usual, extremely civil. I

had forgotten to mention that Lord Amherst had found it necessary to make an official statement to the Chin-chae, respecting the omission for the few last days, of the salutes from the military posts, which, after some trifling excuse, had been attended to, and the usual honours regularly paid during yesterday and this day's journey. Our Chinese friend, Chang, frequently excused the pertinacity of his government upon the point of ceremony, from the influence of barbarous Tartar habits. Kwang made use some time since of the pretext of national ignorance, to account for the rudeness of the Foo-yuen of Nang-chang-foo, a Chinese, in not taking any notice of the arrival of Lord Amherst at the city.

The intercourse with the district Mandarins has been much less frequent since we entered Kiang-see; of late it has almost ceased: the same description of persons are still, however, in attendance, a Judge, Commissary, and a military Mandarin with a red button. It is as uncertain as useless to speculate upon this or any other circumstance belonging to the behaviour of

this half civilized, prejudiced, and impracticable people.

18th of December.—The scenery, as we left the anchorage, highly romantic. The river being narrowed by the mountains and the nearer hills, richly and variously wooded, which has not generally been the case; here, however, the lighter forms of the bamboo and Chinese pine were contrasted with the spreading branches and foliage of the Yung-shoo. A few white buildings, situated in striking points of view, gave that appearance of partial habitation, which communicates the additional beauty of social interest to a landscape. The mountains have rendered our course very winding. About one we saw two ruined towers on the tops of hills; the frequency of these ruins has probably given rise to the supposition that they were intended as signal houses. Our inquiries have satisfied me that they owe their construction to devotion.

Nang-kang-foo, at which we arrived about half past two, is overlooked by a hill on the side we approached, highly picturesque. A small tower is on the sum-

mit, from which there is a good view of the city, or rather cities, for a bridge over the river unites two walled towns; there was nothing interesting in either; indeed there was much less appearance of population or business than its situation, as being the passage from the great tea provinces, would have led me to expect. A koong-kwan, or government hotel, was prepared on shore for Lord Amherst, with such indifferent accommodation, that it was at once declined. The names of some of the Dutch embassy shewed that it had been their residence. The Kan, by ceasing to be navigated here, for navigable, according to general notions, it has not been for the last few days, is reduced to its proper appellation of a stream, and seems to lose itself in the plain. An amphitheatre of mountains rises around the well cultivated valley in which the city is situated, and at one extremity we see the famous pass of Mee-ling.

19th of December.—We have been all very busy in sending off the presents, stores, and baggage. The number of persons employed in carrying the packages is said

to amount to three thousand. Fifty
the large glass-cases; ten of these supp
it with forks or poles in a perpendicu
position. Should these glasses reach C
ton in safety, their escape and advent
will deserve a place in the records of
Plate Glass Company; they will be
fluminum, tot marium, tot montium
perstites. The loads are regularly assi
ed by weight to each pair of porters, a
there did not occur any instance of o
or under loading. We are told that
baggage will reach Nan-hiung-foo bef
us; of this, however, I entertain conside
ble doubts.

CHAPTER VII.

Pass Mee-ling mountain—Description—Reach Nan-hiung-foo—Description of city—Change boats—Reach Chao-choo-foo—Remonstrance respecting boats—Guard boats—Rock and temple of Kwan-yin-shan—Approach Canton—Hong merchants—Arrival of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe and Captain Maxwell—Procession of European boats—Arrival at Ho-nan—Occurrences at Canton—Receipt of edict through the Portuguese—Conduct adopted—Interview with Viceroy—Delivery of Emperor's letter to the Prince Regent—Communication with Kwang respecting presents—Kwang breakfasts at the Factory—Houses of Hong merchants—Chun-qua's entertainment—Farewell visit from Kwang—Departure from Canton—Embarkation on board the Alceste—Abstract of edicts—Observations thereupon—Macao—Portuguese—Departure—Recapitulatory remarks on China and its inhabitants.

TWENTIETH of December.—We all rose before daylight, and the whole embassy had quitted the ground soon after sunrise. Chairs and horses were provided for the conveyance of the gentlemen, guard, and servants. The chairs for the Embassador, Commissioner, and a few of the gentlemen were tolerable, the rest in the usual style

of Chinese indifference to our comforts. Twelve soldiers attended Lord Amherst's chair, and six each of the Commissioners. I myself preferred riding: the horses were very small, but active, and neither wanting in strength nor spirit. A long line of troops was drawn out at a short distance from the town, and the usual honours were paid to the Embassador as he passed. A paved road, the most complete public work, with the exception of the canal, which I have seen in China, extends from Nan-kang-foo across the mountain and pass of Mee-ling, to Nan-hiung-foo, and must be of the utmost importance, in facilitating the intercourse with the sea coast.

I was disappointed in the notion I had formed, of the difficulty of crossing the Mee-ling mountain; the ascent is not particularly steep, and is rendered easy by a pavement composed of broad steps: the depth to which the rock is cut down did not appear to me to exceed twenty-five feet, and the breadth may be something less. The view on approaching the pass was certainly romantic; the cliffs were wooded to the top, principally with the

Chinese pine, and the pass itself, at a certain distance, looked like a mere doorway in the rocky battlements: from the summit, the eye, looking towards Kiang-see, took in an expanse of mountains, with, however, no striking feature beyond mere extent. Porters and travellers ascending the mountains, naturally much heightened the effect of the whole scene. The mountain itself was composed of schistus; and some insulated columnar rocks, on descending, looking at a distance like basalt, proved to be a very compact limestone; they formed, particularly with buildings and trees on them, striking objects.

The number, regularity, and general appearance of the troops, both infantry and cavalry, were much superior, on this frontier of the province of Quang-tung (divided from Kiang-see by Mee-ling) to any we had seen. There was great variety of uniform among the infantry: the cavalry wore generally white jackets with red facings; their horses small, but tolerably good: the matchlocks of some of the infantry were painted yellow, and looked more like a boy's plaything than a soldier's weapon.

From observing that many of the soldiers threw off an old outward jacket before they fell in, I apprehend that we saw the troops in their holiday clothes, and that the object was to make an impression upon us of the efficient military establishment of the province. Mee-ling takes its name from the mee tree, looking like a wild cherry, with which it abounds; these trees at this season were in flower, while most others had a deep autumnal colour.

Having passed through some villages, or rather short streets, on the road, we arrived, about ten o'clock, at Choong-chun, distance fifty lees, the halting place, or half-way house; here we were shewn to a respectable Koong-kwan, where a good breakfast of Chinese dishes was served up to the different parties as they arrived. About thirty lees from this place we passed Lee-tang, a larger village, with a stone bridge of good architecture near it. Forty lees more brought us to the suburb of Nan-hiung-foo, and after going through the whole extent of the city, we were conducted to the Koong-kwan near the water-gate, prepared for the accommodation of

the embassy: this building, though too small for so large a party, was clean and respectable in appearance, and, according to Chinese notions, unexceptionable: all proper military honours and attentions were paid to the Embassador, and indeed to every one of the party on the road from the mountain; the meals prepared have been abundant and of good quality; and, on the whole, this short trial of the disposition of the Canton authorities to the embassy is highly satisfactory. The boats intended for Lord Amherst and the commissioners, though small, are weather tight, the upper works being boarded; those given to the gentlemen are very uncomfortable, being low and narrow, with only the protection of a single matted roof from the weather. Our stay in these boats is, however, not to exceed three days, and the shortness of the time is a sort of excuse for the inconvenience; in fact, the river is so shallow, that light boats are absolutely necessary.

21st of December.—The Chinese have urged us to expedition, alleging that the river is every day becoming shallower, and

that the slightest delay may render
progress by water for the present impr
ticable. I believe, that although th
may be some truth in this statement,
real fact is, that the Canton officers, v
have been already here a month, are ti
of waiting. These Mandarins are of v
high rank, the commander in chief,
Tsoong-ping * of the troops, and the ju
of the province.

In passing the first day through
city, I was struck with the apparent po
lousness, and still more with the frequa
of soldiers and police-officers on du
here, for the first time, I observed the ga
to the principal streets, with a soldier s
tioned near them. Red streamers w
stretched across the streets through wh
the embassy passed, and the whole l
certainly more the appearance of a pul
entry than usual. The offices of gove
ment seemed spacious, and one or two l
a garden attached. From a hill on
other side of the river upon which we
to proceed there is a good bird's eye vi

* This officer was, perhaps, the Tsiang-kun, w
answers better to the English denomination.

of the city, which is less extensive than I had supposed; the length is considerable in proportion to the breadth, and it is, I fancied, surrounded by a double wall. A small stream falls into the river, called here by the name of the town; both streams, tributary and principal, are crossed by good stone bridges level on the top, with well-built regular arches. Kwang has surprised us by civilly offering to forward letters for us to Canton by an officer of rank proceeding thither; the offer has been accepted, and communications have been made to Sir Theophilus Metcalfe and Captain Maxwell.

22d of December.—The Chinese, in their hurry to get us off on account of the shallowness of the river, have thrown themselves into confusion, and so totally neglected our comforts, and even necessary supplies, as to compel us to detain the fleet (although the Chin-chine had quitted at daylight) until two o'clock; with much trouble, however, and after strong representation, the inconveniences were partially removed: the fault was with the district officers, whose negligence seemed only

equalled by their stupidity. Our habits, and the more equal rank of the persons composing an European embassy, certainly require more equal accommodation than under similar circumstances would be expected in China, and may therefore be some excuse for the inattention generally shewn to the comforts of all below the immediate principals. The consideration due to official rank is understood and paid in China, but the claims of private gentlemen, as the character does not exist, are necessarily unintelligible. Our departure was so late in the day, the river has been so shallow, and the labour of dragging the boats through the sand has been so great, that we had not advanced more than a few lees at sunset, when we anchored for dinner. Mountains, in ranges of various elevation, extend from the banks to the distance, generally barren; those near the river partially wooded, principally fir. The Chin-chae has sent a message to Lord Amherst, announcing that a house would be provided for him at Canton. Ho-nan, the quarter where Lord Macartney resided, is to be the situation; this arrange-

ment, although much against comfort, is satisfactory, as evincing good disposition in the government.

23d of December.—We continued our journey nearly all night, the great object being to overtake the Chin-chae still in advance; the necessity of hurry is, I believe, real, it not being unusual for the tea boats to be detained at this season from the shallowness of the water. Our progress has been so slow, that we had not accomplished more than thirty lees in the morning: disagreeable motion from the boats grounding is now added to the incessant howling of the boatmen: communication with each other is difficult, and from the slightness of the side planks dangerous; on the whole, the unremitting exertion to advance is the only consolation: the country has not been interesting. At twelve o'clock, sixty lees distance, some patches of terraced cultivation struggled with the barrenness of the hills. Near this we passed a temple and military post, prettily situated on the left bank. On the opposite side at three we saw the village of Lee-ping, which attracted notice from the

number of small, but well kept tombs near it. At five we came up with the Chin-chae at Shwuy-toong, a large village, if not a town, being on the opposite bank; I did not ascertain its extent.

It was here necessary to make another remonstrance to the Chin-chae upon the subject of provisions: civil apologies and promises of remedy, partially performed, were the result. One article deficient was Chinese wine for the soldiers and servants, and this circumstance was the more disagreeable, as with the usual indifference of the Chinese, our stores and baggage had been sent on before, so that we were literally dependent upon them for supply; every day but serves to increase our anxiety to be liberated from the control of these inhospitable hosts: our distance from Chao-choo-foo is still one hundred and eighty lees. On examination, the rocks near the river would seem to be grauwacke, the surface exposed to the air being of a red colour, the inner parts of a blueish grey: masses of pudding-stone are frequent. Firs still continue to compose the woodlands.

24th of December.—The country has improved very much in appearance; the mountains have been more deeply wooded, and their forms and combinations frequently picturesque: the rocks are of pudding-stone and grauwacke, the former with lumps of compact limestone embedded in them.

At twelve and a half we reached Chee-ling-kiang-keu, where a small stream falls into the river, here called the Tung-kiang. This junction has an immediate effect upon the depth of the river: preparations were made in all the boats for a more rapid progress: rudders shipped, masts stepped, and sails bent. Several boats were at anchor off the village, which seemed large and populous. Our boatmen call the distance from Nan-hiung-foo one hundred and thirty lees; to Chao-choo-foo, one hundred and twenty. At half past two we passed the village of Shwuy-ping; here, as at Lee-ping, the tombs were kept in order, to the degree that might be expected from the proposed veneration of the Chinese for their ancestors. Astrologers are generally consulted by the Chinese respecting the

situation of tombs, the power of evil spirits being supposed to depend much upon local aspect. I have observed the villages in this province generally to contain one large building, said to be a private house: the appearance reminded me of the small villages in Hungary, where the lord's mansion overshadows the tenantry. We anchored at sunset ninety lees from the city, within sight of some remarkably abrupt rocks, apparently in the middle of the river: two rise like the pillars of a gateway. Much of this day's scenery, from the depth of the wood on the hills, was interesting.

25th of December.—At eight o'clock we passed the rocks last mentioned, called by the boatmen Chen-taou, or La-shoo-shan, rising abruptly to the height of two hundred feet from the river; the base, pudding-stone with limestone, or rather marble resting upon it. At ten o'clock we passed an immense tabular rock of red sand-stone. The villages in this part of the country are few, and the cultivation proportionately scanty. At half past eleven, the rocks approached so near as to leave but a nar-

row channel for the river: a guard-house and village among some fine trees rendered the spot particularly striking. I have often remarked the attention paid by the Chinese to the effect of situation in their buildings and towns, indeed I can scarcely recollect an instance where a point of view has been neglected. At twelve we reached five remarkable rocks, which, from some fancied resemblance, have been called Woo-ma-tow or five horses' heads. Many of the rocks have exhibited an alternation of sand-stone and breccia; the masses of the latter of a size to surprise a cabinet geologist.

At two o'clock the range of hills on our left exhibited a formation of coal rising to the surface; and I must confess that, upon examination, such seemed to me to be the case: inquiries of others, however, tended to establish a contrary statement, and to account for the appearance by coal having been brought there from a mine at some distance (two hundred lees), for the purpose of mixing with pyrites, from which the sulphate of iron, or green vitriol, is afterwards obtained, by moisture and crys-

tallisation. Some of the party examine the process in a neighbouring village.

I walked the last ten lees, and passin through a large village, reached the an chorage immediately opposite the city Chao-choo-foo: the wall extended a cons derable distance along the river, and th place had an air of bustle and prosperity The river is crossed by a moveable bridg of boats connected by a chain. The loca authorities availed themselves of this ci cumstance to throw difficulties in the wa of our communication; a boat was re moved from the bridge, and few of th party succeeded in getting the ferry-boa to take them across. The houses and shop within the walls were described as larg and substantial. At this city the Tun ho, or Eastern river, is joined by the Se ho, or Western river, and the united strea assumes the name of the Pe-kiang, the la of the rivers of China upon whose wate we shall request a safe passage. From neighbouring pagoda there must be a goo view of the city, and I regret not havin ascended it.

On examining the boats prepared fo

the embassy, it was found that no distinction had been made in appearance between those intended for the gentlemen, and that for Lord Amherst; the flags had also been changed, and instead of the characters expressing his lordship's official situation, and those of the commissioners, the inscription of tribute-boats was equally applied to all. The boat for the Chin-chae also proved to be not only handsomer in appearance, but of quite a different description, the relation of an accommodation-barge to a baggage-boat; these points formed subjects of representation to Kwang. The explanation in reply was more satisfactory than might have been expected. Kwang said, that his boat had been sent up for him by his old friend the Foo-yuen of Canton, to whom it belonged, otherwise that he should have proceeded in one similar to Lord Amherst's, and that he was still prepared to decline the civility of his friend, if his lordship continued to feel any dissatisfaction at the difference. The mistake of the flags he promised should be rectified, and a handsomer boat, if procurable, sent to Lord Amherst. This was accordingly done.

26th of December.—The baggage ha ing been all transhipped, we proceed in the morning. The Mandarins were first disposed to be much less active in sisting the change of boats here than similar occasions before; strong remo strance to Kwang, although he disclaim having any authority over them, had t desired effect, and their assistance was o tained. It has been the more necessary notice any impropriety of conduct at th place, as we may be said to be within th influence of the air of Canton, to puri which from the vapour of official insolen was the object of the embassy.

27th of December.—We left at dayligh and were agreeably surprised with the com parative rapidity of our progress. Th stream was strong, with few shallow Within ten lees we passed a guard-hous with a handsome temple near it. Th rocks retain their fantastic abrupt shape rising nearly perpendicular from the wate the limestone in several had been worke A rock of this species exhibited mo strongly the appearance of the strata hav ing been disturbed, the angles at one poi

differing at least forty degrees. I have observed a few plantations, not terraced, of the camellia on the sides of the hills; the fir woods have been frequent, and evidently kept up for timber: there were also some groves of the yung-shoo near the river. The soil light and sandy, principally cultivated with the ground nut.

We have this day seen several guard-boats of a good construction, many of them handsomely decorated with flags, and worked by soldiers, sixteen or eighteen in number; they moved remarkably fast, and had almost a martial appearance; less finery would have given it to them. The men wore a brown conical cap, and were dressed in red jackets.

The rudders of our present boats are composed of three cross beams, in the shape of a right-angled triangle, the broadest forming the base in the water. Two sweeps are worked over the stern, and one at the bow; to these poles and sails are added, so that no possible means of advancing are omitted. Our rate is about twelve lees, or three miles and a half an hour. Although the exterior of our boats

are unpromising, the accommodation is better than in any we have yet had, and some may be said, from the painting and gilding inside, to be elegantly fitted up. At one hundred and twenty lees we passed a large village. The scene at sunset on the right was particularly beautiful, from the depth of the woods, backed by a lofty range of mountains. At half past seven o'clock we passed a remarkable rock, standing in the middle of the river; the lanterns of the passing boats just gave sufficient light to mark the rough outline of this and other strangely shaped rocks. We anchored about eight, at Su-choo-ya, one hundred and eighty lees from Chaou-choo-foo.

28th of December.—About eight o'clock we reached Kwan-yin-shan, a perpendicular rock, from four hundred to five hundred feet in height, with a temple in a fissure of the rock, of two stories, dedicated to Kwan-yin. The first story is near one hundred feet above the level of the river, and the other forty feet higher*: the steps, walls,

* Although I have retained the height of this temple above the level of the river as originally set down in my

and larger divisions, are all cut out of the solid rock, which is a compact limestone, dark-coloured, and therefore giving a gloomy solemnity to the whole. A few priests are the occupiers of this curious, but miserable dwelling, much frequented by travellers, who make a small offering in return for the incense burnt in their name before the idol. A projection of the rock, which formed a roof to the temple, hung in masses, having a stalactical appearance: from examining a specimen on

journal at the moment, I think it right to state, that some of the party did not assign a greater height than forty, others seventy, and one only reached a hundred. Had an actual admeasurement taken place, and come to my knowledge, I should have altered the text; as this, however, was not the case, and as I formed my estimate while standing in the second story, from a comparison of the whole height of the mountain with the distance below me, and afterwards corrected it by the appearance from the boat, I have not seen sufficient reason for preferring the other suppositions; my estimate, however, may be too great, and the truth nearer to one hundred feet. This is an instance, perhaps, among many others, in which my account of facts may differ from that of my companions. Where visible objects are concerned I may, from defective sight, be incorrect; but I have not subjected myself to error by relating that from distant recollection, which I neglected to record at the time of observation or occurrence.

a smaller scale, I am inclined to attribute the peculiar shape entirely to the wearing action of water upon the irregular surface of the rock. The distance was two hundred and twenty lees from Chaou-choo-foo.

The Chin-chae's boat struck upon a rock with such violence, that she nearly went down; his change for the day into a smaller caused some delay a short distance from Kwan-yin-sham. Kwang took this opportunity of visiting the Embassador, and was, as usual, civil and pleasant in his manner. He informed Lord Amherst that the Emperor had directed the port duties not to be levied on the General Hewitt, as being the merchant ship accompanying the embassy. This is in conformity with usage, and an additional proof of good will. Kwang alluded also to the possibility of his accepting our invitation to visit the Alceste. On the whole, I should say he becomes more cordial as we approach Canton: he expects to arrive in five days. We proceeded only thirty lees farther, to an island opposite Yin-ta-hien, a walled town. Near our anchorage there was an old pagoda, built in good taste, and in this

respect affording a contrast to one recently built near the town; the modern are less lofty, and have more space between the stories, which gives them a truncated appearance. Boats were refused for crossing over to the town, so that the imperial edict seems more attended to in Canton than elsewhere.

29th of December.—We left in the morning, with a strong north-east wind, and in consequence proceeded only thirty lees, to a sandy flat, with a large plantation of bamboos immediately beyond it. There were several pretty walks through this plantation, and the ravines in the adjacent mountains were well wooded, and possessed a varied richness of foliage, generally wanting to woods in China. A well cultivated plain extends on both sides of the city, which we have just passed, and its Paou-ta forms a striking object in the distance. Rice was the principal cultivation. The bamboos grow in clumps, or rather several rise from the same mass of roots; they are usually lopped when of a certain height. Our boatmen seized the opportunity to supply themselves with

poles, and for some time the depredations were carried on with impunity; towards evening the rights of property were asserted, and the law laying hold of the offenders, inflicted severe and summary punishment. Near dwellings inclosures are frequent, but there is seldom any thing to mark property in woods, or even in the more valuable plantations of camellia. Two of the boats, one containing some of the presents, were nearly lost, partly from the violence of the wind driving them upon a rock, but principally from the mismanagement of the boatmen, who seem to be both timid and awkward; indeed, looking at the narrow channel of the river before us, I do not much regret our having delayed till the wind moderated.

30th of December.—We left at daylight, with moderate weather. The mountains, after clearing the narrow passage, were less elevated. Bamboos on our right, and but little interest in the scenery. At one o'clock we passed Fa-kiung-haou, where a small stream fell into the river. The village is pretty, with a military post embowered in woods. A newly-built white-

washed cottage reminded me of England, to which indeed all our thoughts begin now to turn. At two we reached the prettiest scene I have yet seen; the hills were richly, variously, and loftily wooded to the very summit, and the eye in looking up the ravines was lost in the depth of foliage, resembling more Rio Janeiro than China. We reached Sing-yuen-hien at five o'clock, and anchored on the opposite bank of the river at an island, with a long sandy flat, as at our former anchorage; beyond it, however, the country was pretty, from the bamboo and other trees forming pleasant shrubberies. It was impossible not to feel gratified with the summer look of the vegetation contrasted with the wintry feel of the wind.

This walled town has a large suburb, the houses towards the river built on piles. A large Paou-ta in front bears the name of the town; it is of nine stories. Our course has wound very much to-day, the river increasing in width and depth; had we not been spoiled by the mighty Yang-tse-kiang, we should now call it a respectable stream. Peasantry continue to be civil

nes of the windows were gilt, and
n decorated with flags and ensign
ce. These boats are the best adapte
r object that I have seen in China;
earance of the men uniformly dr
of their arms in good order, re
ks like efficiency: some carry one
small guns.

1st of December.—The river still
ases in breadth. Near the banks,
larly on our right, there are for
st part sandy flats, marking its m
ended bed. The villages are few,
single large building in most of th
ither a warehouse or a magazine of
Eleven o'clock. The river was divi

attach importance. During a walk on shore I was for the first time annoyed by the conduct of the peasantry; there was little curiosity, and much impudence in their manner: Foreign, and Red-head Devils, were their terms of abuse. My ears were also surprised, but not gratified, by some men passing in a boat, hailing us with the words '*by and by*,' '*directly*.' This is all symptomatic of our approach to Canton, where our nation is more known than liked. Soon after sunset we reached San-shwuy-hien, a walled town, taking its name from its situation at the junction of three rivers. From the number of lights it seemed of considerable extent. Here we anchored for a few minutes, and then proceeded, the Chin-chae having determined to travel all night to secure the crossing of some shallows, only passable at high water. The town was on our left as we approached. The mountains are fast disappearing, and giving place to hills: the cultivation, barley, vegetables, and rice. I have frequently remarked during this day and yesterday a Malay cast of countenance in the people

1st of January, 1817.—The morning found us on a narrow muddy stream; the hills gradually sinking; the banks flat, and laid out in rice-fields: the river soon received an accession of waters from a stream flowing on our left, called San-sou-koo. I now find that the square buildings, already remarked, in the villages of this province are used as places of security for grain and other articles of daily consumption. Orange groves, interspersed with plantains and leechee trees, occupy the left; the rising grounds on the right partially wooded.

Boats, with the Hong merchants on board, who had come out to see Sir George Staunton, declared our near approach to Canton. From them we learnt that we were not to proceed by Fa-tee, the usual passage, but had taken the wider branch, to avoid, as they said, the shallow; the former, however, had been taken by the Chin-chae. An attempt was on this occasion made, and as instantly checked by Sir George, to exclude the junior Hong merchants from an interview with the Embassador. This proposal belonged to

the system of Coloong, or more limited monopoly.

On arriving within seven miles of the city, Captain Maxwell and Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, in the Embassador's barge, joined us; they had come in advance of the other boats belonging to the Alceste, Lyra, and the ships of the East India Company, that were assembled off a pagoda two miles distant, to attend the Embassador to his residence. The members of the Select Committee, the American consul, and the captains of the several ships, were on board. Lord Amherst here left the Chinese boat, and proceeded in his barge, attended by the boats of the ships in two lines, to the principal temple in the village of Ho-nan, on the opposite side of the river to the Factory, where quarters for the embassy had been prepared. The building was sufficiently spacious, and by the exertions of the gentlemen of the Factory, had been rendered capable of accommodating the whole party with considerable comfort. Neither Kwang nor the Viceroy attended to welcome the Embassador. Sing-ta-jin, a Mandarin with a blue button, was pre-

sent, and was, as the occasion required, received with a degree of coldness by his Excellency, that must have marked his dissatisfaction. In the evening the embassy dined with the Factory, and experienced in the heartiness of the reception, a pleasing contrast with the pretended hospitality of the Chinese.

Canton, from the number and size of the vessels, the variety and decorations of the boats, the superior architecture of the European factories, and the general buzz and diffusion of a busy population, had, on approaching, a more imposing appearance than any Chinese city visited by the present embassy; nor do I believe, that in the wealth of the inhabitants at large, the skill of the artificers, and the variety of the manufactures, it yields, with the exception of the capital, to any city in the empire. The traveller who only sees Canton will be liable to form an exaggerated opinion of the population and wealth of China. The whole effect of foreign commerce is here concentrated and displayed, and the employment which the European trade affords to all classes of the inhabitants diffuses an

air of general prosperity, not to be expected where this powerful stimulus does not operate.

2d of January.—The Chin-chae called to-day upon the Embassador; he was particularly civil and gracious in his manner, and gave us reason to understand, that upon his having conducted himself to the satisfaction of his Excellency, would depend his future favour with the Emperor. He, however, endeavoured to decline the return of the visit proposed by the Embassador: but when pressed upon the subject, fixed the 4th. Lord Amherst, in noticing his expression as to the treatment we had experienced during our journey, carefully endeavoured to separate his satisfaction with Kwang personally, from his feelings towards the government. The Chin-chae did not seem inclined to admit, much less to be gratified, with this view of the subject.

Some efforts were made to render Puan-ke-qua, the principal Hong merchant, the medium of communication between the Embassador and the Mandarins, which were, however, readily defeated. Informa-

tion was also received during the day, that the Viceroy had it in charge from the Emperor to deliver an edict or letter addressed to the King of England, and a proposal was made that the Embassador should perform a genuflexion on receiving it, inasmuch as the Viceroy and the Chin-chae would perform the usual prostrations: an imperial banquet was to form part of the ceremony. Insinuations were thrown out, that an opportunity was now afforded of recovering our lost ground in the Emperor's favour. The proposal of genuflexion was rejected; and it was then understood, that the Mandarins would perform their ceremony in a separate apartment. The Embassador only pledged himself to bow on receiving the letter.

3d of January.—I this day commenced my purchases, principal in China-street: the goods exposed for sale were all adapted to the European market, and were rather interesting from the goodness of the material and workmanship, than as being characteristic of the people. A peculiar dialect of English is spoken by the tradesmen and merchants at Canton, in which

the idiom of the Chinese language is preserved, combined with the peculiarities of Chinese pronunciation.

We received a communication from the Mandarins, limiting the proposed ceremony to the mere delivery of the letter, and dispensing with genuflexion on one side and prostration on the other. Some difficulty has arisen as to the number of persons to be seated, the Mandarins requiring that none but the Embassador and commissioners should be allowed chairs, while four Mandarins, besides the Viceroy and Foo-yuen, are to be seated on the part of the Chinese.

4th of January.—We this day received from Macao a Portuguese* translation of an imperial edict addressed to the Viceroy of Canton respecting the embassy. In this document the dismissal of the embassy is entirely attributed to the misconduct of the Embassador and the commissioners. The Viceroy is directed to effect our removal as soon as possible, but to give the Embassador an entertainment,

*Vide Appendix, No. 10.

consistent with the rules of hospitality, before his departure: the Viceroy is further instructed on that occasion to make a speech to the Embassador, the tenor of which might fairly be said to amount to a reprimand. The spirit of this edict materially differs from the others we had seen, inasmuch as the whole blame is shifted from the Mandarins to the Embassador and commissioners, whom it affects to treat as culprits.

5th of January.—A knowledge of the edict communicated yesterday rendered it necessary, by some decisive measure, to prevent the possible execution of that part of the Emperor's commands, directing the insulting address from the Viceroy to the Embassador; at the same time it was not advisable to state the real grounds of the proceeding, from an apprehension of injuring the persons through whom the edict was received. An intimation was therefore conveyed by Mr. Morrison to the Mandarins, recommending the avoidance of any allusion to the occurrences at Yuen-min-yuen, upon which the parties were so completely at issue, that the subject could

scarcely be touched upon without exciting unpleasant feelings; and he was further instructed to apprize them, that the conduct and language of the Embassador would be entirely regulated by that of the Viceroy: any offensive expression, therefore, would be received in a manner likely to prove publicly disagreeable to both parties. With respect to the number of persons to be seated, the principle of equality was asserted, and finally admitted by the Chinese; the Viceroy, Foo-yuen, and Hoppo, being the persons named. The interview has been finally fixed for the 7th.

6th of January.—Nothing of public importance occurred. I employed myself in making purchases. The gentlemen of the factory dined with the Embassador in the evening.

7th of January.—About one o'clock the interview with the Viceroy took place. The Emperor's letter, inclosed in a bamboo, and covered with yellow silk, was delivered in the principal hall of the temple by the Viceroy standing, into the Embassador's hands, by whom it was received with a profound bow; they then proceeded

to a smaller apartment fitted up for the occasion, where a short conversation took place, only remarkable for a momentary attempt made by the Viceroy to assume the tone of arrogance that had been anticipated, which being immediately resisted, was as quickly abandoned. The particular expression was the assertion on his part of the superior advantages, or rather the absolute necessity of the Chinese trade to England: in reply, his Excellency contended for the reciprocal benefits of the commerce to both nations. The Viceroy declined to prolong the discussion, admitting that it might be mutually disagreeable, and the interview terminated, with some unmeaning and formal wishes for the continuance of friendship. Fruits and other refreshments were spread out in an opposite apartment, and, being pointed out by the Viceroy to his Excellency as the expected entertainment, were not declined.

On this occasion the manner of the Viceroy fully answered the description we had received; it was cold, haughty, and hostile. He was evidently performing a disagreeable duty, and had great apparent

difficulty in resisting the expression of his feelings at conduct, which he must have considered the unwarrantable arrogance of barbarians, towards the greatest sovereign of the universe.

We were naturally anxious to examine the letter from the Emperor, which proved to be written in Chinese, Tartar, and Latin; it was as usual, styled a mandate * to the king of England; but, with that exception, was much less assuming than might have been expected; in fact, it was on the whole not more objectionable than that addressed by Kien-lung to his Majesty. A very false statement of the occurrences at Yuen-min-yuen was given, the dismissal being attributed to pertinacious and successive refusals of the Embassador and commissioners to attend the Emperor, under an absurd pretext of sickness.

* The Portuguese Embassador vainly attempted to obtain an equality of style in the address of the Emperor to his sovereign. Pere Parennin declined being the bearer of a declaration from the Embassador, that he would not receive any letter written in a different tone, being aware that such a declaration would only give offence, and would be entirely useless. The usual Chinese forms were, in fact, observed.

8th of January.—The Embassador returned the Chin-chae's visit, who was established a short distance down the river; the guard-boats and war-junks saluted as his Excellency passed, and the reception was altogether very gratifying. The members of the select committee were present on this occasion, and were presented to the Chin-chae.

12th of January.—A communication has been received from Kwang, directed to an inquiry as to the future disposal of the presents, and hinting the possibility of their being accepted at some future period by the Emperor. A general answer was returned to the first part, and an attempt was made to ascertain the exact views of the Chin-chae in the second, giving him, however, to understand, that the treatment experienced by the Embassador, precluded the possibility of his originating any proposition upon the subject, but that he might be disposed to attend to any official communication of the Emperor's wishes. It is, no doubt, the interest of Kwang to obtain such a decisive mark of our forgetfulness of the insult offered at

Yuen-min-yuen, as a tender of the remaining presents, and his indirect attempt to effect that object is a proof, that the imperial court is not without apprehension of the possible consequence of the abrupt dismissal of the embassy. Much of the good treatment, during the return, may be traced to this feeling; and it would be highly impolitic to throw away this advantage, either from satisfaction with the Chin-chae personally, or upon the vague assurance of conciliating the Emperor, whose arrogance would, no doubt, be gratified by this addition to our humiliation.

13th of January.—A breakfast was given by Sir George Staunton and the Factory to the Chin-chae and the Embassador. Although this was the first European entertainment K-wang had ever witnessed, his manner and conduct were perfectly unembarrassed, easy, affable, and cheerful; he seemed to feel himself among friends, and lost no opportunity of shewing attention to those within his reach. Towards the close of the party, and when a cordial interchange of drinking healths had taken place, the Chin-chae artfully suggested to

the Embassador the satisfaction he shou
derive from being able to carry with h
to court a written acknowledgment of
having been satisfied with the treatment
had experienced; no doubt could be e
tertained upon the nature of the reply
be made: compliance would imply an a
mission of the propriety of our abrupt d
missal, and might be destructive of wh
ever impression had been produced by t
firmness of our resistance; at the same ti
it was important to avoid the language
menace, by which our own governme
might be committed. It was also of co
sequence to ascertain whether the Ch
chae was authorized to make the propos
His Excellency therefore contented hi
self with alluding to the indecorous d
missal from Yuen-min-yuen, and proceed
to express his personal satisfaction with t
conduct of the Chin-chae; adding, that
thanks and gratifying recollections w
confined to him. He also stated the n
cessity of his receiving some official no
fication of the present feelings of his I
perial Majesty, before he could feel hims
justified to his own Sovereign, in renewi

any direct intercourse of the nature adverted to by the Chin-chae. Kwang, in reply, observed, "What avails the expression of satisfaction with the slave, when all proceeds from the imperial master?" He positively denied having any instructions upon the subject; and said, that the acknowledgment must be entirely gratuitous on the part of the Embassador. Observations of a similar nature to those already used were made in answer, and the conversation ceased, apparently without any diminution of good understanding.

In the course of the week the Embassador, in return to his communication of the day fixed for his departure (the 20th), was informed by the Chin-chae, that he and the Viceroy would call on the preceding day to take leave: excuses were afterwards made for the Viceroy, and, indeed, at one time, for the Chin-chae, who, however, finally pledged himself to attend on the 19th.

I had forgotten to mention some circumstances that occurred last week, the first a visit on the 11th to Fatee Gardens, a resort for the fashionables of Canton. These gardens belong to rich individuals,

and consist of straight walks lined with flower-pots, containing the curious and beautiful plants of the country. Free admission was formerly allowed to these gardens, but the misconduct of some officers of the ships has recently produced a limitation to one day in the week. On the 12th we visited the villas of Puan-ke-qua and How-qua, the two chief Hong merchants, both situated near the temple in which we are quartered; the former, to which we first went, was interesting as a specimen of Chinese taste in laying out grounds; the great object is to produce as much variety within a small compass as possible, and to furnish pretexts for excursions or entertainment. Puan-ke-qua was surrounded by his children and grandchildren, the latter in such complete full dress of Mandarins that they could with difficulty waddle under the weight of clothes: a small pavilion was erected at the extremity of the garden overlooking the farm, in which was an inscription calling upon the rich to recollect, and appreciate the agricultural labours of the poor.

How-qua's house, though not yet finish-

ed, was on a scale of magnificence worthy of his fortune, estimated at two millions. This villa, or rather palace, is divided into suites of apartments, highly and tastefully decorated with gilding and carved work, and placed in situations adapted to the different seasons of the year. Some refreshments of fruit and cakes were put before us here as at Puan-ke-qua's. How-qua and his brother, a Mandarin holding some office, waited upon us themselves. A nephew of How-qua had lately distinguished himself at the examination for civil honours, and placards (like those of office used by the Mandarins) announcing his success in the legal forms, were placed round the outer court: two bands attended to salute the Embassador on his entrance and departure. Within the inclosure of the garden stand the ruins of the house occupied by Lord Macartney, separated only by a wall from our present residence; it belonged, I believe, to the father of How-qua. The houses of both Puan-ke-qua and How-qua contained halls of their ancestors, with tablets dedicated to their immediate progenitors; the vessels for

sacrifice and other parts of their worship were similar to those we had before seen, but in somewhat better order and of better materials.

Puan-ke-qua and Hów-qua are both remarkable men among their fraternity: while the former is supposed to excel in the conduct of business with the Mandarins, the mercantile knowledge of the latter stands highest; indeed the enormous fortune he has accumulated is a sufficient proof of his talents in this respect. Puan-ke-qua, though advanced in years, retains much of the vigour of youth, and he shewed with great pride his youngest daughter, a child of not more than two years old, to the Embassador; he took no pains to conceal his sense of his mental and personal qualities, and while he asserted the privileges of age by his garrulity, did not seem to admit his being subject to any of its infirmities. How-qua's person and looks bespoke that his great wealth had not been accumulated without proportionate anxiety. He is generally supposed parsimonious, but neither his house nor its furniture agreed with the

imputation; his domestic establishment, we were informed, consisted of between two and three hundred persons daily feeding at his expense.

16th of January.—A dinner and singsong, or dramatic representation, were given this evening to the Embassador by Chun-qua, one of the principal Hong merchants. The dinner was chiefly in the English style, and only a few Chinese dishes were served up, apparently well dressed. It is not easy to describe the annoyance of a singsong; the noise of the actors and instruments (musical I will not call them) is horrible; and the whole constitutes a mass of suffering which I trust I shall not again be called upon to undergo. The play commenced by a compliment to the Embassador, intimating that the period for his advancement in rank was fixed and would shortly arrive. Some tumbling and sleight of hand tricks, forming part of the evening's amusements, were not ill executed. Our host, Chun-qua, had held a situation in the financial department, from which he was dismissed for some mal-administration. He has several relations in the ser-

vice, with whom he continues in communication. His father, a respectable looking old man with a red button, assisted in doing the honours. With such different feelings on my part, it was almost annoying to observe the satisfaction derived by this old gentleman from the stage. Crowds of players were in attendance, occasionally taking an active part, and at other times mixed with the spectators—we had both tragedy and comedy. In the former, Emperors, Kings, and Mandarins strutted and roared to horrible perfection, while the comic point of the latter seemed to consist in the streak of paint upon the buffoon's nose—the female parts were performed by boys*. Con-see-qua, one of the Hong merchants, evinced his politeness by walking round the table to drink the health of the principal guests: the perfection of Chinese etiquette requires, I am told, that the host should bring in the first dish.

The Hong merchants wear Mandarin buttons, for which they pay considerable

* The profession of players is considered infamous by the laws and usages of China.

sums; the only substantial advantage thence derived is the immunity from immediate corporal punishment, it being necessary previously to degrade them by some form of trial from their Mandarinship.

19th of January, Sunday.—The Chin-chae, according to his promise, paid the Embassador his farewell visit; it passed in mutual expressions of good will, more sincere than might have been expected, when the adverse circumstances of the connexion are considered. I must confess that my own opinion of Kwang has been throughout favourable, for I have felt convinced that the good sense and liberality of his character have beneficially modified the jealous principles of the government with respect to foreigners; nor were these feelings affected by the coldness observed in the Chin-chae's manner for some time after leaving Pong-chow; he was then smarting under the effects of imperial displeasure, caused chiefly by his concessions to us at Tien-sing, the scene of our short-lived and only success.

The temple in Honan, in which we are

residing, is one of the largest and best furnished with idols and other appurtenances of worship which I have seen. To provide for our accommodation it has been necessary to displace the colossal representations of Fo from the principal hall, and to send them, as we are told, on a visit to their kindred upon the opposite bank; the ceremonies of religion are, however, uninterrupted, and the priests perform their daily circumambulations in another hall, which has not been put in requisition.

I must confess that parts of the ceremonial did not seem to want solemnity and decorum; and if the countenances of the priests did not display devout attention, they had an expression of abstract nihility, worthy of the speculative absorption of the human, into the divine existence inculcated by Hindoo theology. The priests in attendance are numerous, and their chief is of high ecclesiastical dignity.

The ready appropriation of so celebrated a place of worship, accompanied as it has been by the dislodgement of so many idols, and such great changes in the distribution of the compartments, is the last

and perhaps not the least proof of the indifference of the Chinese to religious decencies: it is also worth remarking, that during our stay in the temple I never observed any individual but the priests engaged in acts of devotion; the Chinese looked on with less curiosity indeed, but with as much indifference as ourselves.

I must not forget to mention the sacred pigs, of remarkable size and age, who are kept in a paved sty near the temple, there to wallow in the filth and stench of years.

20th of January.—The Embassador embarked in the barge of the Alceste, and proceeded to Whampoa, attended, as on his approach to Canton, by all the boats of the Company's ships: the crews gave three cheers as his Excellency's barge left the pier head, which it was impossible to hear without strong emotions; there was an awful manliness in the sound, so opposite to the discordant salutations and ridiculous ceremonies of the nation we were quitting. The Viceroy, who had been coquetting the last two days as to whether he would or would not appear at the place of embarkation, had stationed himself in a

boat some distance down the river, within sight of the procession: he sent his card to the Embassador, who did not, however, under these circumstances, think proper to take any notice of him; there being good reason to suppose that his presence was not to be attributed to civility, but to the regulations of office, which required his personal superintendance of the departure of foreigners in our situation.

The banks of the river, until we passed the half-way pagoda, were flat and uninteresting; near Whampoa, and particularly at Dane's Island, the scenery was rather pretty. At three o'clock we reached the Alceste, where we had a parting dinner with Sir George Staunton, who goes to England in the Scaleby Castle. He carries with him the good wishes of all the party; and though the acquaintance of those who came from England in the Alceste has been shorter, I question if they yield in esteem to his older friends at Canton. For my own part, while I, perhaps unfortunately, retained my original opinion respecting the Tartar ceremony, I must confess, that I could not have found an-

other person to whose character and acquirements I would have preferred yielding the guidance of my actions.

I here subjoin an abstract of an edict (received and translated after our arrival at Canton), styled the Vermillion edict*, from its being written in ink of that colour by the Emperor's own hand. This edict is certainly satisfactory; the statement given of the proceedings of the embassy is nearly correct, and his Majesty, as in the Pekin Gazette, throws the entire blame of the abrupt dismissal of the embassy on his own ministers. It commences by briefly stating the occurrences at Tien-sing. The two Chinese commissioners are blamed for taking upon themselves the responsibility of allowing the Embassador to proceed, after his refusal to perform the prostrations at the banquet; they are also accused of conniving at the departure of the ships; and here the intended return from Tien-sing is distinctly avowed. The appointment of two superior commissioners to conduct the discussions respecting the ce-

* Vide Appendix, No. II.

remony at Tong-chow is next stated; they are charged with having sent a confused report from that place, and are said to have been compelled to avow on the day preceding the arrival of the embassy at Pekin, that the ceremony had not yet been practised; but it is asserted that they then pledged themselves for its performance on the day of audience. The alleged sickness of the Embassador is mentioned, and censured as contumelious, and the English commissioners are made to say in addition to a repetition of the same excuse, that the interview must be deferred until the recovery of the Embassador. The Emperor proceeds to declare that it was not until some few days had elapsed that he became acquainted with the night journey of the Embassador, and the want of the court dresses, and his Majesty asserts that had these circumstances been known to him at the time, he would have postponed the audience and completion of the ceremony to another day. The weak and equivocating conduct of the Chinese commissioners, who are said to have seriously injured the public affairs, is severely cen-

sured; and the Emperor takes shame to himself for having been the victim of their imbecility and deceptions. Allusion is made to the crimes of all the four Chinese commissioners having been referred to the Boards for their investigation, and the edict concludes with orders for its public diffusion through the Tartar and Chinese dominions of the empire.

Two other edicts* were received and translated at the same time, the one an edict founded upon a report of the first Chinese commissioner, in which the Embassador is declared to be daily practising the ceremony. This edict fixes the day of audience and departure as already mentioned. The remaining document is an extract from the different imperial edicts inflicting degradation upon the four Chinese commissioners, and from these it appears that the Emperor's lenity modified the severe decision of the tribunals.

Ho is sentenced to forfeit the sum allowed him as duke for five years. The Board had decreed that he should be deprived of his

* Vide Appendix, Nos. 12 and 13.

title of duke (Koong-yay), but his Majesty, by a special act of grace, permitted him to retain his title and his private duties in the palace. His yellow riding jacket, a very high honour, confined with few exceptions to the imperial family, is taken from him. Moo, from age and inability, is laid aside entirely. Soo is dismissed from his situation of President of the Board of Works, and reduced from his rank of General, and ordered to pluck out his peacock's feathers; he is degraded to a button of the third rank.

The Board to which his case was referred had decreed that he should be reduced to the fifth rank, and laid aside; his Majesty has, however, by special favour, retained him to superintend the imperial tea and provisions, and placed him in charge of the gardens of Yuen-min-yuen; if he behaves well, in eight years he may be restored.

Kwang is reduced by these edicts to a Secretary of the eighth rank, and is to be sent to Man-chow Tartary next spring to discharge the duties of his office.

The vermillion edict coincides so exactly

in spirit with the extract from the Pekin Gazette of the 4th of September that it may be presumed they were composed nearly at the same time, or at least under an equal extent of information respecting the circumstances to which they both relate.

The edict addressed to the Viceroy of Canton was dated on the sixth of September, and the letter to the Prince Regent on the eleventh; the one two, and the other seven days subsequent to that of the Gazette. The vermillion edict may therefore be viewed as a more detailed and formal declaration of the sentiments expressed in the Gazette.

In both documents some misrepresentations will be observed, and the declaration of the Emperor, that he was not aware of the circumstance regarding the court dresses, may be compared with the assertion of the Chinese Commissioners, that they would be dispensed with, and a conclusion drawn of the positive falsehood of the Emperor's statement; for it is not to be supposed that they would, upon their own responsibility, have ventured to con-

duct the Embassador to his Majesty, wit
out those accompaniments of dress an
appearance, that were not less necessar
to his respectability than to the presen
of their own sovereign *.

I am inclined to offer the following e
planation of these contradictory proceed
ings. This weak and capricious monarc
soon after the flagrant outrage had be
committed under the impulse of angry di
appointment, may be supposed to ha
become alarmed at the consequences
his own violence, and the habitual notio
of decorum belonging to Chinese charact
and usage, resuming their influence, pr
duced the partial reparation, and apparent
candid explanation, contained in the G
zette and Vermillion edict.

This interval of repentance and moder

* It may be said that the fact of the Dutch Emba
having been compelled to appear in their travelli
dresses, opposes this last supposition; the circumstan
were, however, different; the Dutch were not carried
once from the road to the palace, nor was their bagg
so near at hand, or the day fixed for their audience
abruptly, suddenly, and unreasonably changed. E
in their case dispensing with the court dresses was c
trary to the Li or ceremonial laws of the empire.

tion was short, and either at the suggestion of ministers adverse to the semblance of concession to foreigners, or from the returning haughtiness of national feeling and personal character, it was determined by the Emperor to justify his violence by a false statement of the conduct of the Embassador, and in this spirit the letter to the Prince Regent was composed. It may be conjectured, and not without reason, that the edict to the Viceroy of Canton was adapted to the peculiar circumstance of that province in being the resort of Europeans, and an overbearing tone was assumed, to prevent the assumptions of foreigners, likely to arise from the slightest appearance of concession.

Little credit is certainly due to imperial edicts, and the different statements of the occurrences at Yuen-min-yuen given in the Gazette and Vermillion edict, compared with that contained in the letter to the Prince Regent, shews the Emperor's disregard of truth and consistency. Inasmuch as the intercourse between the two countries is concerned, the weight of official authority is certainly due to the letter, for

the edicts were neither addressed, nor were they supposed to have come to the knowledge of the Embassador; they are therefore only important as evidences of the general disposition of the Chinese government, or as instances of fluctuation in a mind known to be at once timid and capricious *.

* It will be observed on examining the imperial edicts, that the seventh of the moon, or twenty-ninth of August, is always considered in them the day fixed for the reception of the embassy; but a reference to the proceedings at Tong-chow shews that the Koong-yay informed the Embassador that he was to have his public audience on the eighth of the moon, or the thirtieth of August. The edict founded on Duke Ho's report professes to be issued on the day of the arrival of the Embassadors at Hai-tëën, and then proceeds to summon them to an audience on the seventh. If this edict was issued on the day of our arrival at Hai-tëën, the date is the seventh; but this is not reconcileable with the Vermillion edict, which alludes to the audience as being fixed for the day subsequent to our being brought from Tong-chow. The statement which the Emperor wishes to establish is, that he originally fixed the day of audience with the belief that the Embassador had arrived before half past one o'clock on the sixth of the moon, or the twenty-eighth of August, thereby allowing sufficient time for the necessary preparations. The embarrassment would thus appear to have been caused by Ho not making an accurate report of the time of arrival at Hai-tëën. At half past five o'clock, however, on the seventh of the moon, the Emperor ad-

22nd of January.—We arrived at Macao this evening, after a pleasant passage.

23rd.—Landed at Macao. No public notice was taken of the Embassador by the Portuguese authorities, in consequence, as was alleged, of the mourning for the death of the queen which had then, for the first time, been officially announced.

The presence of a detachment of Chinese soldiers at the landing-place sufficiently proved that the Portuguese tenure of the island is rather that of a factory, than territorial.

There is little to interest in Macao beyond the first *coup d'oeil*, which, from the European regularity and structure of the buildings, is striking when contrasted with the total want of effect in the cumbrously roofed temples and koong-kwans of the celestial empire. Some parts of the island present picturesque views and remarkable

mits himself to have been aware of the Embassador being still on the road, and is therefore not exonerated, even by his own statement, from the charge of unreasonably summoning the Embassador to an immediate audience. This confirms the opinion expressed in the text that the Emperor actually dispensed with the court dresses, as stated by Ho to Lord Amherst.

objects, particularly a temple on the south-west side, where all the grotesque features of Chinese scenery are comprised within a small compass; buildings, rocks, and trees growing from the midst of the stone, justify the artificial combinations of their gardening and drawings. The garden in which the cave of Camoens is situated appeared to disadvantage, from its being much neglected by the present proprietor; it still, however, continues a pleasant retreat. The cave, formed of a cleft, has been spoiled by a masonry abutment on one side. Camoens' bust, ill executed, is placed within a grating resembling a meat-safe.

A residence at Macao must be rendered disagreeable by the narrow limits to which Chinese jealousy has confined European excursions. This confinement is equally unpleasant and unnecessary, and would not have been submitted to by any other nation but the Portuguese. It is really distressing to see an authority calling itself European so degraded as that of the government and senate of Macao. If even they had the means, I doubt whether they

would have the spirit to resent the increasing insults and encroachments of the Chinese; in fact, the only activity ever displayed by them is in undermining the interests of the ally and saviour of their mother country. The garrison consists entirely of black troops, officered, with the exception of a few principals, by half casts. The men are diminutive in stature, and seem to weigh little more than their arms and accoutrements. In architecture and size the churches, as in all catholic colonies, considerably exceed the other buildings; they are not, however, sufficiently remarkable to deserve being visited.

28th of January.—We left Macao, and soon after our embarkation a determination was formed to visit Manilla. One general feeling of satisfaction, I believe, pervades all our minds on feeling that we are removed from even the waters of the celestial empire, and restored to the habits of independence and civilization.

Many have probably been disappointed with their journey through a country that has, in my opinion, excited an undue degree of interest in Europe. Inferior by

many degrees to civilised Europe in all that constitutes the real greatness of a nation, China, has, however, appeared to me superior to the other countries of Asia * in the arts of government and the general aspect of society.

Although I am not prepared to assert that the great principles of justice and morality are better understood in China than in Turkey and Persia, for these may be considered indigenous in the human mind, the laws are more generally known and more uniformly executed. Less is left to the caprice of the magistrate, and appeals to the supreme power are represented as less obstructed, and though tedious in bringing to issue, oftener attended with success †.

The great chain of subordination, rising

* I of course except the British possessions in India, where a modified introduction of the maxims of European government has necessarily meliorated the condition of the inhabitants.

† I have heard an instance of a poor widow, who persevered for fourteen years in a series of appeals against a viceroy, by whom her husband had been illegally deprived of life and property; and it is said that she finally succeeded in bringing the offender to justice before the supreme tribunal at Pekin.

from the peasant to the Emperor, and displayed through the minute gradations of rank, must operate as a check upon arbitrary rule in the delegates of the sovereign authority; or at least the diffused possession of personal privileges affords, to a certain extent, security against the sudden effects of caprice and injustice. Those examples of oppression, accompanied with infliction of barbarous punishment, which offend the eye and distress the feelings of the most hurried traveller in other Asiatic countries, are scarcely to be met with in China. The theory of government declares the law to be superior to all, and the practice, however it may vary in particular instances, seldom ventures openly to violate the established principles of legislation.

In the appeals frequently made through the medium of the imperial edicts to the judgment of the people, however false the statements, or illusory the motive assigned in these documents, we have sufficient proofs that the Emperor does not consider himself, like the Shah-in-Shah of Persia, wholly independent of public opinion; on the contrary, in seasons of national cala-

mity, or under circumstances of peculiar emergency, the Emperor feels called upon to guide the sentiments of his subjects by a solemn declaration of the causes that have produced, or the motives that have regulated his conduct. The edicts promulgated respecting the dismissal of the embassy were instances of the prevalence of this practice, on an occasion where the comparative importance to the domestic interests of the empire did not seem to require the proceeding.

The best criterion of the general diffusion of national prosperity will probably be found in the proportion which the middling order bears to the other classes of the community, and the number of persons in all large villages and cities, who, from their dress and appearance, we might fairly say belonged to this description, is certainly considerable throughout those parts of China visited by the embassy, the northern being in all these respects inferior to the middle and southern provinces.

Instances of poverty, and of extreme wretchedness, doubtless occurred in our progress. On me, however, who always

compared China with Turkey, Persia, and parts of India, and not with England, or even with continental Europe, an impression was produced highly favourable to the comparative situation of the lower orders; and of that degree of distress which might drive parents to infanticide there was no appearance, nor did any fact of the description come to my knowledge*.

My impressions at different periods of our journey upon the subject of population have been already noticed, and the result is a firm conviction that the amount has been much overstated; the visible population was not more than commensurate with the quantity of land under actual cultivation, while much land, capable of tillage, was left neglected; and with respect to the overwhelming crowds usually observed in the larger cities, when I considered that these were drawn together by such an extraordinary spectacle as that of an European embassy, I was disposed to

* It is by no means my intention to deny the existence of the practice, but to express some doubt of the asserted frequency.

infer that most capitals in Europe would present as numerous an assemblage.

The frequency of considerable towns and large villages is the circumstance which to me both marked the comparative population and prosperity of China, in this point certainly surpassing even our own country; but it is at the same time to be recollected that our journey passed through the great line of communication between the extreme provinces of the empire, and that consequently a different conclusion might arise from an examination of those provinces occupying a less favourable situation.

I have been informed that the most accurate Chinese accounts state the amount of the population as considerably below two hundred millions, and there is no reason to suspect them of any intention to underrate a circumstance so materially connected with their national greatness *.

* The municipal regulation existing throughout China, which requires that every householder should affix on the outside of his house, a list of the number and description of persons dwelling under his roof, ought to afford most accurate data in forming a census of the population.

Of the actual receipts * into the imperial treasury I was unable to obtain any information to be relied upon; the finances are, however, represented as at present in a very deranged state †, and indeed the late rebellion, combined with the weak character of the reigning Emperor, seems to have given a shock to the whole fabric of government, from which it will not readily recover.

If the discontent, probably still latent in the provinces, were roused into action by external attack, or encouraged by foreign assistance, a change in the dynasty would not be an improbable event. Chinese national feelings have not yet entirely

* The revenues are stated by the missionaries to be derived from the soil, the customs on the foreign and home trade, and from a capitation tax levied upon all persons between the ages of twenty and sixty. Much of the revenue is paid in kind, and the store-houses filled with articles for consumption in the palace form no inconsiderable part of the imperial property. The revenues on land in China, as in India, are levied from the proprietor, and according to the quality of the soil.

† To this may very naturally be attributed the intended return by sea from Tien-sing, and the short period assigned by the Emperor to the stay of the embassy, as both circumstances materially diminished the charge upon the imperial treasury.

subsided, and a real or false representative of the Ming dynasty might be put forward, who would, if powerfully supported by foreign aid, find adherents sufficient to expel the present unworthy possessors of this vast empire; but without such interference no internal revolution is at present to be apprehended.

The army of China, sufficient, I believe, for purposes of police, would not, judging from the appearance on parade and state of discipline, present much resistance even to the irregular troops of Asia, and would certainly be quite unequal to cope with European armies: the genius, aspect, and habits of the people have been for ages, and still continue, most unwarlike, and China perhaps requires only to be invaded to be conquered.

If foreign commerce is but little encouraged in China, the principles of the home trade appear to be better understood, at least the villages were, with few exceptions, admirably well supplied with all the more immediate necessaries and indeed comforts of life. Much arrangement must be required to secure a regular

supply of many of these articles brought from the distant provinces, and although the extensive communication by water affords unusual facilities, the existence of the fact is a sufficient proof of the uniform and successful employment of a large capital, in the most important object of national economy.

The foreign relations of China are probably more confined than those of any other country of the same extent to be met with in the history of the world. Domestic manners and daily habits are so intimately interwoven with the frame of Chinese polity, that the principle rigidly maintained by the government of discouraging intercourse with foreigners, is neither so unreasonable nor so unnecessary as might at first sight be imagined. This great empire is no doubt held together by the force of moral similarity, produced by a series of minute observances, levelling both the better energies and evil passions of the people to a standard of unnatural uniformity; the improvement or vitiation that might result from unrestricted communication with other nations would be equally fatal to the stability of such a

system, and are consequently natural objects of jealousy to the government.

China, from its extent and the variety of its soil and productions, is independent of other countries for a supply of the necessaries, comforts, and almost luxuries of life; no adequate motive, therefore, exists for the encouragement of foreign relations directed to commercial purposes; and as a state of repose, both external and internal, is most adapted to its political constitution, this is perhaps best secured by drawing a line of moral, as well as territorial demarcation, between its subjects and those of other nations.

The present intercourse between Russia and China is confined to a limited barter on the frontiers, and it is the obvious policy of the latter to discourage any more intimate connection. I am inclined to believe that Chinese statesmen are alive to the possibility of Russia becoming a troublesome neighbour, as well by the exertion of her own resources as by stimulating the Tartar hordes in their mutual vicinity to incursions, if not to regular invasion: without energy or activity to meet the danger should it actually take place, they

hope to prevent the occurrence, not by a demonstration of strength, but by studious prevention of intercourse, and a consequent concealment of weakness.

With other neighbouring Asiatic countries, the relations of China are tributary, more or less strict, according to their respective proximity. With Thibet that of protection from a powerful disciple to a religious guide, and with Nepaul * that of a paramount to a distant feudatory, ever ready in seasons of foreign danger to claim assistance; but when the pressure is removed, remiss, if not wholly neglecting the performance of its duties.

Although the connection between Great Britain and China has, in the latter years of its progress, been graced by two embassies from the crown, it must be deemed, in its relation to China, purely commercial.

* The late war in Nepaul has thrown much light upon the connection between China and Nepaul, and the advance of a Chinese army within a few marches of the scene of our military operations in the latter country, followed by the friendly communications that were exchanged between the governor-general and the Chinese commanders, suggest opinions respecting our political intercourse with the court of Pekin that may deserve consideration.

Considerations, however, of revenue, and the injury to the public securities that must result on the failure of those funds derived by the East India Company from the profits of the trade, have given it no trifling degree of political importance to the general interests of the British empire. The best mode of conducting the commercial intercourse has therefore deserved and obtained the attention of the authorities at home. It has been maintained that the Chinese Hong, or body of security-merchants, can only be met by a correspondent system, and that consequently an open trade would be ruinous, if not impracticable. The attempted extortions of the local government are known to be so unremitting, that it has required the control over the whole British trade possessed by the supercargoes to produce any effectual resistance. It is the exclusive privilege of trading possessed by that great capitalist, the East India Company, which alone gives this control, and were British commerce at Canton allowed to take a natural aspect, it is asserted that individual interests would neither be capable, nor,

perhaps, be inclined to continue the same systematic opposition to uniform official encroachment and injustice: not only the trade of private British merchants, but even that of other European nations, and of the Americans, is said to be protected by the influence of the East India Company; and the serious defalcation of provincial revenue, which must arise from the sudden stoppage of so large a portion of the commerce of the port, as that under the direct authority of the supercargoes, is the only security for the comparatively unmolested commercial intercourse now subsisting.

These opinions have been supported by the highest authority, and although a period may arrive when an attempt will be made to act on a contrary system, it would be useless at present to examine its practicability or expediency; of the former doubts have been entertained, and the latter will be chiefly determined by the political and financial situation of our own country, at the time when the question may be agitated.

It is impossible to reflect without some

mortification upon the result of the two British embassies to the court of Pekin; both were undertaken for the express purpose of obtaining, if not additional privileges, at least increased security for the trade: the failure of both has been complete; in the latter instance, certainly accompanied by circumstances of aggravated dissatisfaction. To the mode in which Lord Macartney's embassy was conducted, I am inclined to give the most decided approbation; and whatever may have been my private opinion upon the particular question of compliance with the Chinese ceremonial, I am not disposed to maintain that any substantial advantage would have resulted from the mere reception of the embassy, nor to consider, that the general expediency of the measure itself has been affected by the course of resistance adopted, in deference to undoubted talent, and great local experience.

Royal embassies, avowedly complimentary, but really directed to commercial objects, are perhaps, in themselves, somewhat anomalous, and are certainly very opposite, not only to Chinese

feelings, but even to those of all Eastern nations; among whom trade, although fostered as a source of revenue, is never reputed honourable. If, therefore, it still be deemed adviseable to assist our commerce by political intercourse, we must look to that part of our empire where something like territorial proximity exists. The intimate connection that must henceforward be maintained between our possessions in Hindostan and Nepaul, point out the supreme government of Bengal as the medium of that intercourse: there the representative of armed power will encounter its fellow; and if ever impression is to be produced at Pekin, it must be from an intimate knowledge of our political and military strength, rather than from the gratification produced in the Emperor's mind by the reception of an embassy on Chinese terms, or the moral effect of justifiable resistance, terminating in rejection *.

* A comparison of dates will shew, that the advance of the Chinese army to the Nepaulese frontier had actually taken place while the embassy was either approaching, or in the immediate vicinity of the court of Pekin. If the title given in the Indian accounts to the principal Chinese officer employed on that occasion be correct, his rank was

Religion in China, although addressed in all directions to the eye, did not appear to have much influence upon the understanding or passions of the people. It has all the looseness and variety, with less of the solemnity and decency, of ancient Polytheism. Their temples are applied to so many purposes, that it is difficult to imagine how any degree of sanctity can be attached either to the dwellings or persons of their deities. The influence of superstition is, however, general and extensive; it is displayed in acts of divination, and in propitiatory offerings to local or patron deities. Its observances belong rather to the daily manners than to the moral conduct of the people. The chief difficulty which I should think Christianity would

that of minister. It is, therefore, impossible to suppose the Emperor or his ministers unacquainted with so important an event. The silence observed relating to the war must consequently be attributed either to design, or to an ignorance of the identity of our European and Indian empire. My information upon the facts relating to Nepaul was obtained, on my return, at the Cape of Good Hope; but the expediency of placing our political intercourse with China in the hands of the Supreme Government had suggested itself to my mind at a much earlier period.

final to diffusion in China, would be the impossibility of exciting that degree of interest essential to its effectual and permanent establishment.

My personal intercourse with the higher classes in China was so strictly complimentary and official, conducted too through the medium of an interpreter, that I had no means of arriving at a general conclusion respecting their moral or intellectual qualities; their manners, like those of other Asiatics, were rather ceremonious than polished, and their mode of conducting public business was only remarkable for great caution, indefatigable lying, and a strict adherence to the instructions of their superiors*. I have already remarked the habitual cheerfulness of the lower

* The indecorous publicity given by the Mandarins to their discussions with Lord Amherst was truly remarkable; the attendants were generally present, and questions involving the respective pretensions were discussed before them. This may have arisen either from a dread on the part of the Mandarins, that suitable privacy might give rise to suspicions of improper intercourse, or from their application of the great principle of Chinese policy, which affects to treat all affairs relating to foreigners as too insignificant to deserve the ordinary forms of serious consideration.

orders, and the result of my observation has been to establish a favourable opinion of their habits and general conduct.

My acquaintance with the Chinese language does not extend beyond a few of the most common vocables and phrases; of its literary merits I can therefore, from my own knowledge, offer no opinion. For colloquial purposes, it did not appear to me of difficult acquisition; but the frequent recurrence, by the Chinese themselves, to the formation of the character, in order to fix the meaning of particular words, proves it to be deficient in celerity and clearness of oral expression.

I have now exhausted my recollections respecting China and its inhabitants; and have only to ask myself, whether, omitting considerations of official employment, my anticipations have been borne out by what I have experienced? The question is readily answered in the affirmative: curiosity was soon satiated and destroyed by the moral, political, and even local uniformity; for whether plains or mountains, the scene in China retains the same aspect for such an extent, that the eye is perhaps as much

wearied with the continuance of sublimity as of levelness. Were it not therefore for the trifling gratification arising from being one of the few Europeans who have visited the interior of China, I should consider the time that has elapsed as wholly without return. I have neither experienced the refinement and comforts of civilized life, nor the wild interest of most semi-barbarous countries, but have found my own mind and spirits influenced, by the surrounding atmosphere of dulness and constraint.

CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival at Manilla—Conduct of governor—Description of Manilla—Visit to Los Bagnos—General remarks on state of the colony—Departure—Shipwreck in the Straits of Gaspar—Pulo Leat—The Embassador proceeds to Batavia in the barge—Tedious passage—Arrival in Batavia roads—Dispatch of the Company's cruiser, Ternate, and merchant ship, Princess Charlotte—Author's return to Pulo Leat—Occurrences there—Captain and crew leave the island—Arrival at Batavia roads—Further observations upon Java—Departure from Batavia in the ship Cæsar—Arrival at the Cape—Journey of the governor into the interior—Caffres—Remarks upon the colony—St. Helena—Interview with Bonaparte—Observations upon his appearance, manners, and situation—Leave St. Helena—Anchor at Spithead.

MONDAY*, 3d of February.—Arrived at Manilla. From a local difference in the calendar, this day proved to be Sunday with the Spaniards. The acting governor,

* This difference arises from the Spaniards, in their voyage from Europe to South America, steering a westerly course, and thereby losing time; while other nations, in proceeding to Manilla, take an easterly direction, and thereby gain.

Don Fernando Marianna Folgeras, on hearing of the Embassader's arrival, dispatched his state barge, with an officer, to conduct him on shore; his Excellency had, however, previously left the ship, incognito, and did not publicly land till the following day; having waited to communicate with Mr. Stephenson, the only English resident in the colony, who only then returned from his country seat, at Teeralta, about thirty miles from Manilla. The governor was remarkably civil, and during our short stay shewed that he really felt what he expressed, great regard for the English nation.

The Bay of Manilla is exceedingly fine, but the appearance of the town itself, from the ships, disappointed me. Corregidor Island, and the fort and buildings of Cavita, are striking objects. On landing, the scene had at least the merit of being unlike any we had yet seen. The projecting balconies, and the oyster-shell windows of the houses, are the most remarkable circumstances; the churches are large and rather handsome edifices. In the cathedral we saw some fine church plate; among

the rest, a pix formed of valuable diamonds.

That the colony was Spanish sufficiently appeared from the swarms of monks of all ages and colours, in the streets. My personal observation does not allow me to pronounce respecting the state of information amongst the clergy. I have been told that learning is confined to the monks, and that the parochial clergy, as they are generally natives, scarcely surpass their flocks in knowledge. The archbishop, to whom the Embassador paid a visit, was a good-natured old man, who appeared to take considerable interest in European politics; it was impossible to convince him that the English had not been accessary to the escape of Buonaparte from Elba. Though wretchedly poor and ignorant, the parochial clergy have, from the natural influence of superstition, and from their constant residence, great influence amongst the lower orders, and the government find it their interest to conciliate them. Much credit is due to the Spaniards for the establishment of schools throughout the colony, and their unremitting exertion to

preserve and propagate Christianity by this best of all possible means, the diffusion of knowledge.

A tropical climate might perhaps have relaxed the Spanish gravity; but I must confess, that my previous notions had not led me to expect the boisterous mirth, which prevailed at the governor's table, among the Spanish gentlemen during dinner. Although wanting in decorum, the scene was not unpleasant, as the noise arose entirely from an overflow of hilarity. In the evening we had Spanish dances, and some singing, accompanied on the guitar. The natives of Manilla are passionately fond of music and dancing, and in both they blend their own with European taste.

On the 6th of February we made an excursion across the Bahia lake to the village of Los Bagnos, where are some warm baths, celebrated for the high natural temperature of the water. We breakfasted at the monastery of Tegaee, at the entrance of the lake. The banks of the river were exceedingly beautiful, from the rich verdure and fine trees. Our host of the mo-

nastery was a Dominican friar, civil and well informed: he was in intimate and regular correspondence with the missionaries at Macao, and from them had received translations of the imperial edicts, and tolerably accurate accounts of the proceedings of the embassy; he, of course, reprobated the arrogance and rudeness of the Emperor, and gave the Embassador much credit for temper and moderation. I was surprised by his appearing acquainted with the contents of the Prince Regent's letter, as a translation of it only remained a few hours in the hands of Kwang and Soo, and there was no reason to believe that it had been made public.

The extent and troubled state of the waters of the Bahia lake would justify its being considered an inland sea; at least upon some of us the motion produced all the effects of sea sickness. Its breadth is said to be thirty miles, and the circumference thirty-five leagues. In parts it is bounded by mountains, and is certainly a magnificent object in the general scenery of Luconia. Los Bagnos is a poor village, and is remarkable only from the hot

springs flowing into the lake. The highest temperature of the water was 186 degrees of Fahrenheit.

Our host might be considered a fair specimen of the parochial clergy: the native features predominated in his countenance, and his learning did not exceed the bare repetition of the prayers in Latin. I suspect that his mode of living was little superior to the other inhabitants of the village. In the evening one of the Spanish gentlemen procured us the amusement of a native dance. The style of dancing was not unlike that of India, with, however, more animation and expression. The dances were pantomimic, exhibiting the progress of a courtship, from early coyness and difficulty to final success. The girls were not unacquainted with European dances; one of them danced the minuet *de la cour*, and, considering that the scene was in a bamboo hut, in the midst of a sequestered Luconian village, the circumstance was not without interest. Those who danced were all natives of the village, and were guarded by the jealous attendance of their lovers, whose long knives, seen under their

clothes, warned us that they were prepared to assert their prior rights.

Near the village the banks of the lake were highly picturesque; the rising grounds were covered to their summits with fine trees, and the woods had the peculiarity of extending a considerable distance into the water, where the trees seemed to vegetate by the support they derived from each other: the surface was covered with great variety of beautiful water plants. I returned part of the way from the monastery on horseback, and passed over a country which reminded me of the wilds of Anatolia. The huts of the peasants in the villages near Manilla are, universally raised some feet from the ground, to guard against the damps. Taggal is the native language, and I fancied that I could trace in it some Arabic words.

This colony is at present a burthen to the mother country, and annual importations of specie are required from New Spain to defray the civil and military charges. I was informed by an intelligent Spanish gentleman, that the military establishment, though not efficient in the de-

scription of force, was excessive in point of numbers, and that there are too many officers to allow of their being adequately paid. The garrison is entirely composed of natives, well armed, and, as far as parade appearance goes, well disciplined. The Luconians are naturally brave and desperate, and might be depended upon. Twelve thousand men is stated to be the amount of the armed force distributed through the island; amongst these is a corps of archers, employed in night attacks against the few unsubdued native tribes, who sometimes molest the more peaceable inhabitants of the lower country.

Monopolies of tobacco and other articles, together with a tax on spirituous liquors, are the principal sources of revenue to government: the land rent is so trifling as scarcely to stimulate the tenant to continued industry. The trade of the Philippine Company is confined to the two annual register ships, and the general commerce is in the hands of the English, Americans, and Portuguese. Manilla is the natural emporium of trade between India, China, and the New World, and in the

possession of a more enlightened nation, would be the seat of commercial wealth and activity. The soil is adapted to all the productions of India: cotton might be grown there to any extent, and the contiguity would enable the exporters to supply the Chinese market at a cheaper rate than their competitors. The coffee is excellent in quality, and of easy cultivation. Piece goods are the principal import from India; the return is in specie. I have no doubt that a much larger revenue might be raised, as in India, from the land, not only to the great relief of the finances, but even to the benefit of the mass of the population, who want the stimulus of necessity to produce exertion. The only extensive manufactures that came within my knowledge were those of segars, or rolled tobacco, and a sort of transparent cloth, worn by the natives as shirts. Very handsome gold chains are also made here, chiefly by women; indeed the workmanship is so delicate, that it seems to require female fingers for the execution.

Some loose reports gave us reason to suppose that the spirit of independence

had been partially excited among the colonists by the example of Spanish America, and that they only waited the result to manifest it in open revolt. The popular character of Don Folgeras, the acting governor, will, if he is confirmed, prove a security for the present to the mother country. Under any circumstances, however, I should much doubt the possibility of the colonists establishing an independent government: the number capable from their acquirements and energy to conduct such an enterprise is too small to insure more than temporary success, and certainly quite inadequate to give a permanent consistency to their measures.

Manilla, though in general considered healthy, is subject to visitations of epidemical diseases, very extensive and rapid in their effect; from one of these the island was just recovering when we arrived. The houses of the better classes are large, and well adapted for the climate; and the oyster-shell windows, if they give less light than glass, are better defences against the heat and glare of the sun.

The recent mutability of governments in Europe was well marked by the unoccupied pediment in the principal square, which we were told was intended for the statue of whoever might be the sovereign of Spain: those who answered our questions did not seem quite convinced of the stability of Ferdinand's authority.

We left Manilla on the 9th of February, and enjoyed our usual good fortune till we reached the Straits of Gaspar, leading into what may be called the Java sea.

Upon entering these Straits on the 18th of February, about seven o'clock in the morning, the ship struck, while steering the course laid down in the most approved charts, on a sunken rock, three miles distant from the nearest point of Pulo Leat, or Middle Island, between which and Banca the Straits are formed. The fate of the ship was soon decided; the rock had so completely penetrated the bottom, that no possibility existed of saving her. Immediately aware of the extent of the calamity, Captain Maxwell, with a degree of self-possession never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it, issued the neces-

sary orders for hoisting out the boats. In the two first the Embassador, the gentlemen of the embassy, and the suite, proceeded to the island, where, after some search, they found terra firma, and were enabled to land; for although the island appeared a mass of wood from the ship, and consequently gave a prospect of immediate facilities for disembarkation, in most places the trees extended some distance into the sea, and at low water their roots only were left perfectly bare. A spot clearer than the rest was at length discovered, and, with a little exertion, was made capable of receiving the baggage and stores as they were brought on shore.

The water gained so fast upon the lower works of the ship, that it required the most unremitting exertions of the captain, officers, and men, to save the property that had escaped the first influx of the sea after the ship struck; these exertions were, however, made with a degree of success not to have been expected; no relaxation of this severe labour took place during the night, the captain continuing on board to superintend the whole. A raft had been

constructed in the course of the day, upon which the provisions, liquors, and water that had been preserved, were sent on shore; of the first and the last but a small quantity remained, from the ship having almost immediately been filled below the lower deck with water; indeed I believe not more than three casks were saved.

19th of February.—Captain Maxwell came on shore in the morning, and after consulting with Lord Amherst, it was determined that his Excellency and the gentlemen of the embassy should proceed without delay to Batavia in the barge with a picked crew, commanded by the junior Lieutenant, Mr. Hoppner: one of the cutters was also prepared to accompany the barge, as a security against the possibility of attack or accident. Mr. Mayne, the master, was on board the latter to navigate the boats. At this season there was no probability of the passage to Batavia exceeding sixty hours, the distance being only one hundred and ninety-seven miles, and the wind almost certainly favourable; the inconvenience to which the Embassador would be subjected was, con-

sequently, very limited in duration, and much additional expedition in the dispatch of relief might be expected from his personal exertions at Batavia. The stock of liquors and provisions, which it was possible to furnish to the boats, was necessarily small, sufficient, on very short allowance, to support existence for four days; only six gallons of water were put on board for both boats.

The boats left the island on the evening of the 19th, and on the 20th were fortunately visited by a heavy fall of rain, which not only replenished the original stock, but gave a supply of water for another day. The weather, with the exception of a single squall, was moderate, in fact too much so, as it obliged us to use our oars more than our sails.

After what may be considered a tedious passage, the boats made Carawang Point on the evening of the 22d, to the great joy of all on board, and to the relief of the crews, who were beginning to sink under the continued exertion of rowing, and the privations to which all were equally subjected. It was judged advisable by

Mr. Mayne, the master, to come-to for the night, as well to rest the men, as from a consideration that little advantage could be derived from reaching the roads before daylight. During the night, one of the sailors suffered from temporary delirium, caused, no doubt, by a want of sufficient fluid; aggravated, however, by large draughts of salt water, from which no injunctions or entreaties could induce some of the crew to desist. All the provisions and liquors were distributed, during the passage, with the most scrupulous equality; if ever a difference was made, it was in favour of the men. Messrs. Hoppner and Cooke, officers of the ship, and some of the gentlemen, occasionally relieved the men at the oars; and, on the whole, it may be said, that as the danger and difficulty were common, the privations and fatigues were not less so.

The boats had advanced but a short distance towards the roads on the morning of the 23d, when one of the sailors belonging to the barge, in washing his face over the side of the boat, discovered that the water was fresh. The discovery soon be-

came general, and, although the circumstance was much inferior, the exultation of all on board almost equalled that of the Ten thousand on catching the first glimpse of the sea; for the conscious proximity to Batavia had not carried such complete conviction of the termination of our troubles, as the unexpected abundance of fresh water. It was soon ascertained that we were opposite the mouth of a river, and that the flowing in of the stream freshened the water for a certain distance. The sailors pulled with renewed vigour, and we got alongside the Princess Charlotte, an English merchant ship, soon after ten o'clock.

Letters were immediately sent by his Excellency to the Dutch Governor and to Mr. Fendall, whom, with the other British commissioners, we were fortunate enough still to find on the island. All parties were alike zealous to afford every assistance to those who had arrived, and to send relief to the larger body that had remained on the island. The East India Company's cruiser, Ternate, was luckily in the roads, and that vessel, together with the Princess

Charlotte, were got ready for sea by the next morning, when they sailed for the island. The sincere friendship I felt for Captain Maxwell, and my regard for the officers of the Alceste generally, had led me to promise, on leaving the island, that I would return with the first succours, and I was happy to have an early opportunity of redeeming my pledge, by embarking on board the Ternate.

This vessel, owing to the skill and unremitting attention of Captain Davison, succeeded in reaching an anchorage twelve miles distant from the nearest point of Pulo Leat, or Middle Island, on the 3d of March. The Ternate was unable to approach nearer, from the strength of the current rendering it impracticable to work against the wind, then also unfavourable. On coming to an anchor we observed a fleet of Malay prows, or pirate boats, off the extremity of the island, in the act of precipitately getting under weigh, evidently alarmed by our arrival; the circumstance increased our anxiety for the situation of our companions, whose discomfort, if not sufferings, must have been aggra-

vated by the presence of a barbarous enemy.

Indeed, under every view of the case, it was impossible not to feel the most serious apprehensions as to what might be their actual condition. When we left them their whole stock of provisions did not exceed one week at full allowance; only two casks of water had been saved, and though on digging to the depth of twelve feet a prospect existed of obtaining water by further perseverance, it had not then actually been realized, much less its quality ascertained. Should sickness have appeared amongst them, the total want of comfort, or even protection from the inclemency of the weather, combined with the deficiency of medical stores, must have rendered its progress most destructive. Fourteen days had now elapsed, and the evils under which they were likely to suffer were certain to increase in intensity from the mere daily continuance. The firmness and commanding character of Captain Maxwell were sufficient security for the maintenance of discipline, but even upon this head it was difficult to be wholly without alarm.

Soon after sunset our anxiety was relieved by the arrival of one of the ship's boats with Messrs. Sykes and Abbot on board; from them we learnt that water had been procured from two wells, in sufficient quantity for the general consumption. Only one casualty had occurred, and that too in the person of a marine, who had landed in a state of hopeless debility. The Malay prows had made their appearance on the 22d of February, and had been daily increasing in numbers. The first lieutenant and a detachment of the crew had, in consequence of their approach, been obliged to abandon the wreck, and another raft that had been constructed. The pirates had subsequently set fire to the vessel, which had burnt to the water's edge. Supplies of provisions, liquors, and arms, had, however, been obtained from it. The creek, where the boats of the ship were laid up, had been completely blockaded by the prows, sixty in number, carrying from eight to twelve men each, until the appearance of the Ternate, when they had all hastened away. Mr. Hay, the second lieutenant, with two ship's boats, had pur-

sued two of the Malay boats, with one of which he came up, and after a desperate resistance on the part of the pirates, had succeeded in sinking it: three of the Malays had been killed, and two severely wounded and taken prisoners.

Captain Maxwell had carried the intention, which he had expressed before our departure for Batavia into effect, of establishing himself on the top of a hill near the landing place: by cutting down trees and clearing the underwood an open space had been obtained sufficient for the accommodation of the crew, and the reception of the stores and baggage; the trees and underwood cut down had furnished materials for defences, capable of resisting sudden attack from an enemy unprovided with artillery; platforms had been erected at the most commanding points, and a terre pleine of some yards extent had been formed immediately without the defences to prevent surprise; some hundred rounds of ball cartridge had been made up and distributed to the men with the small arms: pikes, however, some of bamboo with the ends pointed and hardened in the fire,

were the weapons of the majority. None had been exempted from their share of guard-duty, nor had the slightest want of inclination been manifested: in fact the wise arrangements and personal character of Captain Maxwell, while they had really given security, had inspired proportionate confidence; and it might safely be asserted, that an attack from the Malays was rather wished for than feared.

On the evening preceding the arrival of the Ternate, Captain Maxwell had addressed the men upon their actual situation, the dangers of which he did not endeavour to conceal, but at the same time he pointed out the best means of averting them, and inculcated the necessity of union, steadiness, and discipline. His address was received with three cheers, which were repeated by the detachment on guard over the boats, and every heart and hand felt nerved to "do or die." The appearance of the Ternate, however, prevented this desperate trial of their courage being made. We may attribute the precipitate retreat of the Malays to their habitual dread of a square-rigged vessel, and their not consi-

dering the actual circumstances of the case, which rendered the Ternate almost useless for the purposes of assisting the party on shore, the anchorage being too distant to allow of any effective co-operation.

A carronade and some ammunition were sent on the night of the fourth of March from the Ternate, and soon after Mr. Hoppner and myself went on shore in the boat of the Alceste that had returned from Batavia with the ship. We had a very tedious passage, the current setting us on a reef which we were compelled to make a long circuit to avoid; the first post was on a rock a short distance from the creek, commanding a view of the strait, where a midshipman was stationed; the next on another rock close to the creek; a sentry was also posted at the landing-place.

My expectations of the security of the position were more than realized when I ascended the hill; the defences were only pervious to a spear, and the entrances were of such difficult access and so commanded, that many an assailant must have fallen before the object could be effected. I shall

long recollect the cheer with which I was received on reaching the summit, and I most heartily rejoice in having been thus accidentally connected with the liberation of so many persons, from a very alarming situation.

Notwithstanding the quantity of surrounding wood, the air on the top of the hill was cool and pleasant; its salubrity had been sufficiently proved by the good health of the crew, under circumstances of continued exposure. I have seldom seen larger trees than those overshadowing the garrison of Providence Hill, as the spot had been well named by Captain Maxwell. The scene was in itself picturesque, and derived a moral and superior interest from the events with which it was then, and will ever be associated in the recollection of all who beheld it.

Participation of privation, and equal distribution of comfort, had lightened the weight of suffering to all; and I found the universal sentiment to be an enthusiastic admiration of the temper, energy, and arrangements of Captain Maxwell. No man ever gained more in the estimation of his

comrades by gallantry in action, than he had done by his conduct on this trying occasion: his look was confidence, and his orders were felt to be security.

The next and part of the following day were employed in embarking the crew and remaining stores on board the Ternate. We sailed in the afternoon of the seventh, and reached Batavia on the evening of the ninth. The state of the weather was such as to enable the boats of the Alceste, with their crews on board, to keep way with the ship, which was extremely fortunate, as the size of the Ternate would scarcely have allowed the men room to stand on her decks: in fact it was scarcely to have been expected that the object could have been effected by so small a vessel, and much praise is due to Captain Davison for the active spirit of accommodation which he uniformly displayed.

The Princess Charlotte, from inferiority of sailing and other adverse circumstances, did not reach the Straits of Gaspar till the seventeenth, and was obliged to come-to at a much greater distance from the island than the Ternate had done. The barge of

the Alceste, with Mr. Mayne, Mr. Blair, and Mr. Marrige, the accountant of the embassy, on board, was unable to effect a landing, having been pursued by three large pirate boats, and only saved by a sudden squall, which the Malays did not think fit to encounter, from fear of being blown to a distance from the land.

Piracy is well suited to the wild and desperate character of the Malays, and it may be considered their national profession: in its successes and even its dangers they find pleasure and occupation: like all other pirates, they make slaves of the few prisoners they retain, and only release them on an adequate ransom. Their cruelty is not without some probability attributed to the example of the Dutch, who have been occasionally guilty of acts of barbarity towards Malay pirates, at which human nature shudders. The pirates have recently much improved in the arts of war; guns are cast, and powder manufactured by them. With professional desperation, they never expect, and seldom give quarter; and their courage, though ill-directed, often excites the ad-

miration of their opponents. Their usual weapons are swords, spears, and the national kris; the larger boats carry a swivel of small calibre, which I apprehend they use rather in retreat than attack. It is supposed that the most notorious pirates amongst them have connexions with Batavia, and other European settlements, where they often dispose of their plunder under the peaceful disguise of fishing or trading vessels.

18th of April.—I added but little to the information before collected respecting Java; although I cannot say that my opportunities have been fewer—but amusement has this time been my object rather than instruction. The Dutch commissioners profess an intention of maintaining the system of administration introduced by Mr. Raffles; their conduct, however, on a recent occasion, in appearing to sanction by promotion the proceedings of an officer who commanded and superintended the massacre in cold blood of four hundred insurgent prisoners, breathes a very different spirit from that of their predecessors in the government. Let us,

however, hope that this will be a solitary exception to those principles of political wisdom and humanity which would rather seek to reclaim than to exterminate deluded peasants, more especially when deprived of the power, and in all probability of the disposition, to resist.

The British government found the colony of Java in the decrepitude of age, and has restored it in the incipient vigour of youth. An impulse has been given to the agriculture of the island, which, while it secures a fair proportion of revenue to the government, will, if accompanied by facilities to a free export of the produce, render Java the emporium of Eastern commerce. Already the wise regulation of making Batavia a free port has crowded the roads with the ships of all nations. Vessels from the Gulf of Leo-tung and St. Lawrence here meet to carry back to their respective countries the various productions of the island; and it is not too much to assert that the European power possessing Java may at its own doors carry on the trade of both India and China. The policy of our Indian government, not unwisely at

the time, discouraged the trade of the Americans by duties almost amounting to prohibition. A material alteration of circumstances has, in my opinion, been produced by the restoration of Java: it is now our interest to keep down the growth of a resident commercial power in the East, by affording every encouragement to foreign trade in our own possessions. The deficiency of Dutch capital must render their merchants for some time but the factors of other nations, I might say of Great Britain; of this the continued residence of English merchants in the colony is a sufficient proof; but such a state of things will not last, because it is not natural. Capital, as it accumulates in the Netherlands, will find its way to Java; colonial capital will also increase, and ultimately the Dutch will attain their proper situation of exporters, as well as growers of their own produce. They will, however, only secure their fair proportion of oriental commerce, unless we check our own commercial energies by unwise municipal and fiscal regulations. Let the trade of India be really a free trade to all na-

tions, and let the superior share of Great Britain only arise from the superiority of the capital and enterprise of her merchants.

The remains of the Hindoo religion in Java are so striking, that they have naturally attracted the attention of those amongst our countrymen whose official situation brought them into their vicinity, and whose talents and inclination led them to investigate those interesting monuments of a better age of the island. Boodh, the celebrated Hindoo sectary, was the spiritual guide of the Javanese; and the decay of the public and private prosperity of the nation seems to have been coeval with the introduction of the Mahometan faith. Centuries have been passing away while Java, like the rest of Asia, has been sinking from lethargy, or perishing more rapidly from acute political diseases. I have heard that Buonaparte once said that a man was wanted in the East; a man, indeed, or a spirit, has been long wanting to rescue so much of the fair face of nature, and so large a portion of our species, from the united oppression of despotism, ignorance, and superstition: but the evils are

truly inveterate; and it is easier to wish for, than to point out the means of amelioration. Scrupulous observance of ceremony, as it has been the pride, has also been the great object of attention to oriental nations. The Javanese, by the use of three distinct languages according to the rank of the persons, have rendered themselves ridiculously conspicuous upon this point: the languages have been described to me as possessing nothing in common, not even the simple parts of speech. In the court, or higher language Sanscrit derivatives are frequent, as they must necessarily be in all works of literature: science and religion having been introduced among them from the same quarter.

His Excellency and Captain Maxwell having deemed it advisable to combine the conveyance of the embassy with that of the officers and crew of the Alceste to England, the ship Cæsar was taken up for those purposes, and all the necessary arrangements being completed, we sailed from Batavia roads on the morning of the 12th of April, not without regret on my

part, for I had received much kindness from individuals in Java, whose friendship, though quickly given, is not the less dearly prized, nor will be the less lastingly retained.

We anchored in Simon's Bay on the 27th of May, having made the voyage from Batavia roads in forty-five days.

The governor, Lord Charles Somerset, had not long returned from a journey to the frontier of the colony, whither he had proceeded on a tour of general inspection, but principally for the purpose of having an interview with the chief of the Caffre tribes immediately on our borders: in this object he succeeded. Some alarm was at first excited among the Caffres by the approach of the governor, but this feeling soon yielded to representation, and to a conviction of the friendliness of his intention; and the interview terminated in a manner highly satisfactory to both parties.

The English gentlemen were particularly struck with the ease and comparative elegance of the chieftain's manner; he seized with facility the ideas of others, and possessed a ready and copious elocution, fully adequate to the expression of his own.

This description confirmed an opinion, which my intercourse with the wild tribes of Asia has suggested, that vulgarity and embarrassment of manner belong to an advanced state of civilization, where the difference of education, dress, and general modes of life, produce a consciousness of inferiority among the lower orders, which diminishes their self-confidence, and gives a character of vulgar awkwardness to their ordinary manners, never overcome but when circumstances by destroying the superiority remove the cause; even then, ease is not produced, but licentiousness established. On the contrary, the Bedouin, the Indian, or the Caffre, looking principally to animal qualities and to animal existence, and feeling no inferiority in the presence of his fellow creatures, is at all times prepared to exercise the powers of his mind; and when his angry passions are not excited by a thirst of plunder or revenge, is disposed to give satisfaction to those with whom he communicates. The application to the manners of the Caffre chief may be disputed, and it may be said, that habits of command will produce simi-

lar personal confidence in savage and civilized life; and that the King of a South Sea island, or a Caffre chief, is in every inch a King, as much as any European Monarch; but admitting the justice of the objection in the particular instance, I do not conceive that the truth of the general principle will be affected.

A more intimate intercourse with the Caffre tribes has, I have understood, been cultivated, for the purpose of encouraging them to settle within the limits of the colony; to the improvement of which a scanty population presents insuperable obstacles—"*desint manus poscentibus arvis*"—and it is said, that while the bodily strength of the Caffres eminently qualifies them for agricultural labour, their moral character is calculated to render them good subjects. The knowledge which these tribes hitherto possess of Europeans and their descendants has been derived from the Dutch boors, who, like their countrymen in the East, have first assumed that the natives must necessarily be wild beasts, and then treated them as such. The mutual hostility has been so unremitting,

that the maintenance of the colony by the Dutch may be in some measure attributed to the want or ignorance of the use of fire-arms among the Caffres, and the consequent inequality of the contest.

It is to be lamented that the tide of emigration, which has flowed from Ireland and Scotland to America, could not have been directed upon this colony, where the climate is perhaps more favourable to European constitution, and where legislative provisions might establish the liberal and encouraging policy of an infant state. Some assistance from government to the new colonists, without any prospect of immediate or even definite return, might be required at first, but the ultimate repayment would be certain; and the establishment of this domestic outlet for an unemployed population, would in itself be an advantage, of no trifling importance.

We left Simon's Bay on the 11th of June, and arrived at St. Helena on the 27th.

July 1.—St. Helena presents from without a mass of continued barrenness, and its only utility seems to consist in being a mark to guide ships over the waste of

waters. This feeling is certainly removed on landing, and situations may be found, particularly Plantation-House, the residence of the governor, possessing much picturesque beauty; but on the whole, the strongest impression on my mind was that of surprise, that so much human industry should have been expended under such adverse circumstances, and upon such unpromising and unyielding materials.

We had heard so much at the Cape of the vicissitudes of temper to which Buonaparte was subject, that we were by no means confident of being admitted to his presence; fortunately for us, the Ex-Emperor was in good humour, and the interview took place on this day.

Lord Amherst was first introduced to Buonaparte by General Bertrand, and remained alone with him for more than an hour. I was next called in, and presented by Lord Amherst. Buonaparte having continued in discourse about half an hour, Captain Maxwell and the gentlemen of the embassy were afterwards introduced and presented. He put questions to each, having some relation to their respective

situation; and we all united in remarking that his manners were simple and affable, without wanting dignity. I was most struck with the unsubdued ease of his behaviour and appearance; he could not have been freer from embarrassment and depression in the zenith of his power at the Tuileries.

Buonaparte rather declaimed than conversed, and during the half hour Lord Amherst and I were with him seemed only anxious to impress his sentiments upon the recollection of his auditors, possibly for the purpose of having them repeated. His style is highly epigrammatic, and he delivers his opinion with the oracular confidence of a man accustomed to produce conviction: his mode of discussing great political questions would in another appear *charlatanerie*, but in him is only the developement of the empirical system, which he universally adopted. Notwithstanding the attention which he might be supposed to have given to the nature of our government, he has certainly a very imperfect knowledge of the subject; all his observations on the policy of England, as relating to the past, or looking to the future, were

adapted to a despotism; and he is either unable or unwilling to take into consideration the difference produced by the will of the monarch being subordinate, not only to the interests, but to the opinion of his people.

He used metaphors and illustration with great freedom, borrowing the latter chiefly from medicine: his elocution was rapid, but clear and forcible; and both his manner and language surpassed my expectations. The character of his countenance is rather intellectual than commanding, and the chief peculiarity is in the mouth, the upper lip apparently changing in expression with the variety and succession of his ideas. In person Buonaparte is so far from being extremely corpulent, as has been represented, that I believe he was never more capable of undergoing the fatigues of a campaign than at present. I should describe him as short and muscular, not more inclined to corpulency than men often are at his age.

Buonaparte's complaints respecting his situation at St. Helena would not, I think, have excited much attention if they had

not become a subject of discussion in the House of Lords; for as he denied our right to consider him a prisoner of war, in opposition to the most obvious principles of reason and law, it was not to be expected that any treatment he might receive consequent to his being so considered, would be acceptable. On the other hand, admitting him to be a prisoner, it is difficult to imagine upon what grounds he can complain of the limited restraint under which he is placed at St. Helena.

His complaints respecting a scanty supply of provisions and wines (for I consider Montholon as the organ of Buonaparte) are too absurd to deserve consideration, and it is impossible not to regret, that anger, real or pretended, should have induced so great a man to countenance such petty misrepresentations. I must confess that the positive statements which had been made respecting the badness of the accommodations at Longwood had produced a partial belief in my mind; even this, however, was removed by actual observation. Longwood House, considered as a residence for a sovereign, is certainly

small, and perhaps inadequate; but viewed as the habitation of a person of rank, disposed to live without show, is both convenient and respectable. Better situations may be found in the island, and Plantation House is in every respect a superior residence; but that is intended for the reception of numerous guests, and for the degree of exterior splendour belonging to the office of governor.

The two remaining circumstances of Buonaparte's situation deserving attention are the restraints which may affect his personal liberty, and those which relate to his intercourse with others. With respect to the first, Buonaparte assumes as a principle that his escape, while watched by the forts and men of war, is impossible; and that, therefore, his liberty within the precincts of the island ought to be unfettered. The truth of the principle is obviously questionable, and the consequence is overthrown by the fact of his being a prisoner, whose detention is of importance sufficient to justify the most rigorous precautions; his own conclusion is nevertheless admitted to the extent of allowing him to go to any

part of the island; provided he be accompanied by a British officer: for all justifiable purposes this permission is sufficient; nor is it intended to be nullified in practice by undue interference on the part of the officer in attendance. For purposes of health or amusement he has a range of four miles, unaccompanied, and without being overlooked; another of eight miles, where he is partially in view of the sentries; and a still wider circuit of twelve miles, throughout which he is under their observation. In both these latter spaces he is also free from the attendance of an officer. At night, indeed, the sentries close round the house. I can scarcely imagine that greater personal liberty, consistent with any pretension to security, could be granted to an individual, supposed under any restraint at all.

"His intercourse with others is certainly under immediate surveillance, no person being allowed to enter the inclosure at Longwood without a pass from the governor; but these passes are readily granted, and neither the curiosity of individuals, nor the personal gratification which Buo-

naparte may be expected to derive from their visits, are checked by pretended difficulties or arbitrary regulations. His correspondence is also under restraint, and he is not allowed to send or receive letters but through the medium of the governor: this regulation is no doubt disagreeable, and may be distressing to his feelings; but it is a necessary consequence of being what he now is, and what he has been.

Two motives may, I think, be assigned for Buonaparte's unreasonable complaints: the first, and principal, is to keep alive public interest in Europe, but chiefly in England, where he flatters himself that he has a party; and the second, I think, may be traced to the personal character and habits of Buonaparte, who finds an occupation in the petty intrigues by which these complaints are brought forward, and an unworthy gratification in the *tracasseries* and annoyance which they produce on the spot.

If this conjecture be founded, time alone, and a conviction of their inutility, will induce Buonaparte to desist from his complaints, and to consider his situation in its

true light; as a confinement with fewer restrictions upon his personal liberty, than justifiable caution, uninfluenced by liberality, would have established.

We left St. Helena on the 2d of July, and arrived at Spithead on the 17th of August, 1817, on the whole perhaps more gratified than disappointed with the various occurrences of the expedition.

CHAPTER IX.

Sketch of the discoveries of the Alceste and Lyra—Remarks upon Corea and Loo-choo islands—Author's further observations upon the Chinese nation.

THE following sketch and observations have been brought together in a concluding chapter, from the circumstance of their not having originally formed parts of the journal, although obviously connected with the subjects which it embraces.

SKETCH.

This sketch of the surveys in the Gulfs of Pe-tchee-lee, Leo-tong, the Chinese seas, &c. by the squadron under the command of Captain Maxwell, is given rather with the view of exciting than satisfying curiosity respecting these interesting events. Indeed, they form so directly a part of the general result of the embassy, that to omit them altogether was scarcely justifiable.

The first object which seems to have attracted Captain Maxwell's attention was,

to obtain a complete knowledge of the navigation of the Gulf of Pe-tchee-lee, and for this purpose he divided the researches of the squadron, taking to himself the northern part in company with Captain Ross, of the Discovery, assigning the southern to Captain Hall, of the Lyra, and so directing the return of the General Hewitt, as to enable Captain Campbell to explore the central passage.

The course taken by the Alceste led to an examination of the Gulf of Leo-tong, hitherto unvisited by European navigators. In coasting along the western shore of the Gulf, a view was obtained of the Great Wall, extending its vast but unavailing defences over the summits and along the skirts of hills and mountains. Stretching across to the opposite shore of Chinese Tartary, Captain Maxwell anchored in a commodious bay, called Ross's Bay, where he watered, latitude 39° 30′ north, longitude 121° 16′ east. No intimate communication took place here with the inhabitants, who appear to have little knowledge of the value of the precious metals; they, however, possessed comfortable dwell-

ings, and were not unacquainted with the use of fire-arms. A considerable town was observed near this place with junks at anchor.

The land of Chinese Tartary, in its southern extremity, forms a long narrow promontory, which, from its shape, Captain Maxwell named the Regent's Sword. From thence steering southward, and sailing through a cluster of islands, called the Company's Group, he passed in sight of the city of Ten-choo-foo, and standing to the eastward, reached the rendezvous in Che-a-tou Bay, latitude 37° 35′ 30″, longitude 121° 29′ 30″, where the General Hewitt was found at anchor. The channel between the cluster of islands and the coast of Chinese Tartary was named Saint George's Channel.

The Lyra arrived on the 22d of August, after having, during her cruize, kept the coast of China as much in sight as possible; she had passed between Ten-choo-foo and the Mee-a-tau islands, and obtained a complete knowledge of the navigation of the Gulf of Pe-tchee-lee from the Pei-ho to the rendezvous. The survey made by Sir

Erasmus Gower, of Che-a-tou Bay, was ascertained to be perfectly correct. A difficulty being found in procuring water at this bay, the ships proceeded to Oei-aei-oei, lat. 37° 30′ 11″ north, longitude 122° 9′ 30″ east, where there is a good anchorage, but little facility for obtaining supplies.

Had the squadron sailed from hence to Chu-san, and there awaited the change of the monsoon, any expectations originally formed would have been more than gratified: few, indeed, could have anticipated the further extension and increased importance of discoveries that awaited the Alceste and Lyra. Captain Maxwell, before leaving Che-a-tou Bay, ordered the Hewitt, Discovery, and Investigator to resume their original destination; and, on the 29th of August, directing his own course to the eastward, reached a group of islands near the coast of Corea, called Sir James Hall's Group, lat. 37° 45′ north, long. 124° 40′ 30″ east; quitting these, the ships anchored in a bay on the main land, which was named Basil's Bay, in compliment to Captain Hall, of the Lyra, that

36° 4′ 45″ north, long. 126° 39′ 45″ east. Here they had some interesting communications with the natives, who seem to have been prevented by the strict orders of their government from encouraging an intercourse, which, if liberated from this restraint, their inclinations would have led them to cultivate. The dress and appearance were peculiar, and had no resemblance to the Chinese.

Standing southward, they met with an incalculable number of islands, which obtained the name of the Corean Archipelago. They continued amongst these islands from the 2d to the 10th of September, and in the further progress to the southward ascertained that the land observed on the voyage to the mouth of the Pei-ho, and considered as the extremity of the main land of Corea, belonged to a crowd of islands which Captain Maxwell named Amherst Isles. These extend from Alceste Island, latitude 34° 1′ north, longitude 124° 51′ east, marked, but not named in Burney's chart, to lat. 35° 00′ north, and between 125° and 126° of east longitude. The researches of Captain Maxwell esta-

blish the error in the position of the continent to be 2° 14 minutes to the westward, and reveal the existence of myriads of islands forming an archipelago, a fact before unknown and unsuspected. It is to be remarked, that, with the exception of the Corean coast, which the Jesuits professed to have laid down from Chinese accounts, the configuration of the sea-coast contained in their map was found correct, to a degree that could scarcely have been expected.

On the 15th of September the ships reached Sulphur Island (lat. 27° 56′ north, long. 128° 11′ east), so called from the quantity of that mineral found on it. The sulphur is collected by a few individuals resident on the island solely for that purpose; sent to the Great Loo-choo, and thence exported to Japan and China.

On the sixteenth of September they anchored at the Great Loo-choo island, in Napa-kiang roads, lat. 26° 13′ north, long. 127° 37′ east. The natives at first shewed the same disinclination to intercourse as on the coast of Corea, and it required great forbearance and discretion on the part of

Captain Maxwell to produce a contrary feeling. In this object he succeeded; and during a stay of six weeks obtained the most liberal assistance and friendly treatment from the public authorities and natives individually. They quitted their anchorage on the 28th of October; passed Ty-pin-shan, the easternmost island of the Pa-tchou chain, lat. 24° 42′ north, long. 125° 21′ east, subject to the King of Loo-choo, and reached Lin-tin the 2d of November.

The kingdom of Corea and the Loo-choo islands are little known to Europeans. With respect to Corea, the personal observation of the missionaries did not extend beyond the frontier; and the few details which their works contain upon that kingdom and the Loo-choo islands are entirely derived from Chinese authority.

Corea, called Kao-li by the Chinese, is bounded on the north by Man-tchoo Tartary, on the west by Leo-tong: the line of separation on this side is marked by a palisade of wood, and it has not been unusual to leave a portion of land on the frontiers unclaimed by either nation. Other

accounts describe the river Ya-lou as the boundary; the extent from east to west is said to be one hundred and twenty leagues; and from north to south two hundred and twenty, or six degrees of longitude and nine degrees of latitude, from forty-three to thirty-four degrees north latitude. It may, however, be asserted on the authority of the late voyage, that the number of degrees of longitude is too great. Fong-houng-ching, in latitude forty-two degrees, thirty miles, and twenty seconds, longitude seven degrees forty-two minutes east from the meridian of Pekin, is the only point fixed by the astronomical observations of the Missionary Pere Regis, who accompanied a Tartar general to the frontier, and possessed himself of some Chinese maps. This country was brought under subjection by the Chinese in the year 1120 before the Christian æra, from which period it has continued a connexion more or less intimate, according to the political situation of the superior state.

It has been the object of the Emperors of China to reduce Corea to the situation of a province; in this they have never suc-

ceeded for any length of time; and the present has most generally been the relation between the countries; that of a state governed by native hereditary monarchs, holding under a lord paramount, on condition of the ceremony of homage, and the payment of a small tribute. The Japanese, for a time, established themselves in some provinces of Corea, but seem to have abandoned their conquest, from the difficulty of maintaining a possession so distant from their resources.

Corea was subdued by the Man-tchoo Tartars before the conquest of China was attempted, and their tributary connexion has suffered no interruption since the establishment of the Ta-tsing dynasty. On the death of the King of Corea, his successor does not assume the title until an application for investiture has been made, and granted by the Court of Pekin. A Mandarin of rank is deputed as the Emperor's representative, and the regal dignity is conferred on the candidate kneeling; the ceremony altogether nearly resembles the feudal homage of ancient Europe. Several articles, the production of

the country, and eight hundred taels, or ounces of silver, are immediately offered by the King, either as a fee of investiture, or as the commencement of the tribute: the name of the reigning family is Li, and the title is Kou-i-wang. The Corean sovereign is entirely independent in the internal administration of his country. In regard to foreign policy, the active interference of China may be inferred from the opposition made by the Coreans in the instance of Captain Maxwell, to any communication with the interior of the country; an opposition, as has already been remarked, evidently arising from the positive laws of the kingdom. Corea is divided into eight provinces, and these into minor jurisdictions. The capital, King-ki-tao, is situated in the centre of the kingdom. The principal rivers are the Ya-lou and Tamen-oula.

China has communicated her laws and municipal regulations to the Coreans; but while they concur in the honours paid to the memory of Confucius, they wisely reject the absurd idolatry of Fo, and the

attendant burthen of an ignorant and contemptible priesthood.

Embassadors are dispatched at stated periods by the King of Corea to pay, in his name, homage to his paramount, and to convey the regular tribute. This consists of ginseng, zibelines, paper made from cotton, much preferred, from its strength, for windows, and a few other articles the produce of the country. There is reason to believe that the tribute is rather sought for as a mark of subjection, than a branch of revenue. The Corean embassadors do not take precedence of Mandarins of the second rank, and are most strictly watched during their stay in China. It is somewhat singular that equal restrictions are imposed in Corea upon the representative of the Emperor. Corea is said in the missionary's account to export gold, silver, iron, ginseng, a yellow varnish obtained from a species of palm-tree, zibelines, castors, pens, paper, and fossil salt. The statement respecting the metals may be doubted; for while no ornaments made from the precious metals were observed

amongst the natives, they refused to take dollars in exchange for their cattle, and from the sparing use of iron on their tools, a scarcity of that useful metal may also be inferred.

The present Corean dress is that of the last Chinese dynasty; a robe with long and large sleeves, fastened by a girdle, and a hat of broad brim and conical crown; their boots are of silk, cotton, or leather. The Corean language differs both from Tartar and Chinese, but the latter character is in general use. The appearance of the natives is described by the last accounts as more warlike than that of the Chinese, and the attendants of the Corean chief, with whom some communication took place, seemed to use a sword with dexterity.

On the whole, therefore, although the inflexible jealousy of the government, and Captain Maxwell's own sense of what was due to the embarrassing situation of an apparently well disposed public officer*,

* The Corean chief with whom Captain Maxwell communicated is described as a man of most venerable appearance, and as acting against his own inclination in opposing an intercourse with the country.

prevented him from pursuing his researches into the interior, the visit to the coast of Corea must be considered interesting, and as an addition to the geography of Asia, a highly important occurrence.

The connexion between Loo-choo and China is similar to that of Corea just described; and the ceremonies of investiture contained in the account of the Chinese commissioner, Sapao-Koong, and translated by the missionaries, present no difference deserving notice. The final supremacy of China dates from the year A. D. 1372, and the introduction of the Chinese character, and consequently literature, goes back to the year 1187 A. D. The kingdom of Loo-choo is composed of several islands, the principal being the Great Loo-choo, and the limits southward being marked by the extremity of the Patchou Chain, lat. 24° 6′ north; longitude 123° 52′ east. The capital, and residence of the sovereign, is at Kin-ching, a town distant five miles inland from Napa-king roads.

With few exceptions, the same system of laws appear to exist in China and the Loo-choo islands: the Mandarins of the

latter, however, are hereditary, and legal engagements are contracted before certain stones, supposed to have a connection with Tëën-fun, the author of civilization, and founder of religion in these islands. The emperor Cang-hi introduced the religion of Fo, but the honours paid to the memory of Confucius are probably coeval with the introduction of the Chinese character and language; these are in general use among the learned, and necessarily in all addresses to the court of Pekin, but the Japanese character, Y-ro-fa, is employed in all official and private business within the Loo-choo dominions. The colloquial language is a dialect of Japanese, and the style of building is borrowed from the same source. From the history of Corea and of these islands, we learn, that Japan and China have had frequent contests for superiority over these tributary states; in ancient times, with various success, but latterly terminating in favour of China.

The vegetable productions of China, but in greater proportionate variety and abundance, are common to the Loo-choo islands. Sulphur, salt, copper, and tin,

are also found in the latter, and constituted formerly a considerable export to China and Japan.

The public revenue is levied from the land; the actual cultivator is allowed half the produce, and the seed is furnished by the proprietors. Mineral productions are monopolised by the king, and, united to the customs and royal domains, form his personal revenue.

Recent observations have confirmed and heightened the favourable impression received from the Chinese accounts of the moral character and natural talents of Loo-choo-yans; they are remarkable for primitive manners, kindness and good temper. In the mechanical arts they are fully equal, if not superior, to the Chinese; and their ready acquirement of new ideas is said to be beyond either the apt imitation of savages, or the ordinary exertion of intellect, improved by civilization.

The judicious forbearance manifested by Captain Maxwell on his first arrival, secured the favourable opinion, and disarmed the jealousy of the public authorities; while his uniform kindness of manner won

the general regard of this truly amiable people, and the separation took place under circumstances of mutual esteem and regret. Whether these islands can be rendered either of political or commercial utility, may deserve consideration; and looking to the possibility of the question being decided in the affirmative, the information recently obtained, and the favourable impression produced, must be deemed both interesting and important.

OBSERVATIONS.

The following observations have arisen from a perusal of some of the letters of the missionaries, and therefore want the trifling recommendation possessed by the few remarks interspersed through the Journal, that of springing from actual occurrences: they may not, however, be uninteresting to those who have not had occasion, or who want inclination, to consult the original sources of information; at least they have a fair claim to *impartiality*, and whatever errors they contain

may be traced to the imperfect knowledge of the writer, and not to his prejudices.

A confirmation of the accounts of preceding writers, while it diminishes the interest of a more recent description, cannot, however, be considered unimportant; correct information is the object in view, and whether that be obtained by reference to old, or application to modern authors, is matter of indifference. Novelties, as has been remarked in the commencement of this Journal, are not to be expected, either with respect to the polity, morals, or customs of the Chinese; the field of science indeed continues open, and I entertain a confident expectation that the researches of Mr. Abel, notwithstanding the interruption of a dangerous and tedious illness, will not leave public curiosity ungratified on this head.

The missionaries possessed, and availed themselves of facilities for collecting information, which no mere travellers through a country such as China, even if acquainted with the language, could hope to obtain. The moral character and manners of a people can only be learned by systematic

investigation employed during a long residence amongst them; even the facts from which general conclusions may be drawn require patient and repeated observation for their verification, and these merits, I think, belong to the missionaries in an eminent degree.

There are, however, two causes which will prevent the labours of the missionaries from obtaining the weight which they deserve; the first is the absurd mixture of miraculous accounts on points relating to their particular vocation; and the second, the erroneous and exaggerated conclusions respecting the comparative rank of China in the scale of nations, which they drew from the writings and statements of the Chinese themselves. On this head, however, they are more liable to the charge of credulity than of wilful misrepresentation. Exceptions however occur, and it would be difficult to add much to the character of the people given by Pere Chavagnac. "The Chinese," he says, "are slow in receiving ideas, patient, revolted by precipitation, loving nothing

but money, and fearing nobody but the Emperor*."

If fundamental and ancient laws, imperial edicts and imperial professions, be made the standard by which we are to estimate the government of China, we should say that history does not present us with an instance of so large a portion of the globe enjoying a wiser and more enlightened system of administration. We shall find a sovereign, calling himself the father of his people, and only interposing his authority and example to repress the vicious and encourage the virtuous: we shall see an imperial patriarch, on a great festival, stimulating the nation to agricultural industry by himself holding the plough, and guiding their devotions by prayers to the Creator of the Universe. Merit, well ascertained by frequent and strict examination, will appear to be the only recommendation to employment; appeals from subordinate jurisdictions will be repre-

* The father, I suppose, means by the last part of this observation, that the Chinese know no other restraint to their actions, but the fear of judicial punishment.

sented as encouraged and facilitated, and even the imperial judgment will profess to be controlled, corrected, and guided by the laws of the empire, and their organs, the tribunals and the censors*.

Such is the theory of government, but the practice may be said to depend almost exclusively upon the personal character of the monarch. The law is indeed omnipotent and little liable to change, but the execution is modified or evaded; and as the people have no representative, they have no redress but by rebellion.

Could division of labour give efficiency to political administration, China would have fair claims to excellence. In the great council composed of the nine tribunals united, we may suppose the public powers of deliberative legislation to reside;

* These officers are called Yu-see, and are often led by vanity or obstinacy to exert a degree of independence in their remonstrances which could scarcely be expected even from the theory of their duties. The accounts of the missionaries present not unfrequent instances of their attacking the favourites of the Emperor, and the Imperial character itself has not escaped their strictures. They have been remarkable for their uniform hostility to Christianity, which came under their notice as a dangerous innovation in the religion and usages of the nation.

while the council composed of the ministers, the assessors of the principal tribunals, and the secretaries of the Emperor, may be considered as a privy council in which all the more important affairs of the Emperor are confidentially discussed, and where, from its constitution, the most various and complete information is concentrated. In addition to these superior councils, the great tribunals of official appointments, of crimes, of ceremonies, of military affairs, of public works and finance, superintend the details of their respective departments, and receive reports from the several functionaries throughout the empire.

In no part of the administration is the theory more perfect than in the regard that is shewn to the life of the subject. Every sentence of death must receive the personal sanction of the Emperor, for no Mandarin, however high his rank, possesses authority to inflict capital punishment, except in cases of rebellion, without making a regular report of the crime and the evidence by which it is established, to the superior tribunal at Pekin;

the case is there examined, and finally submitted to the Emperor.

The punishments when inflicted are cruel and disgusting. Strangulation is considered less disgraceful than beheading, from the disfiguration produced by the latter, and the consequent detraction of the honours paid to dead bodies.

Many precautions are used to guard against those causes of mal-administration in the Mandarins, which may be considered incidental to human nature. The period of their employment in the same province is limited; they are excluded from holding office in the place or even province of their nativity*: they are prohibited *from* contracting a marriage within the bounds of their jurisdiction, and severe penalties are enacted against corruption. Should these be attended with degradation from a higher to a lower rank, the Mandarin, if afterwards employed, is obliged to record his own disgrace amongst his official titles. Ready access to justice is attempted to be secured by the law which enacts that a complainant striking thrice

* This rule only applies to civil officers.

upon the loo or gong at a Mandarin's gate is at all hours entitled to a hearing, he being, however, liable to punishment if the occasion prove frivolous*; thus the influence both of the weaknesses and vices of our nature is restrained by preventive and inflictive enactments.

With all these checks upon individual deficiency in public functionaries, it is singular that a final decision should be almost universally allowed to Viceroys in civil cases, where, as the temptations to injustice are more frequent, the restraints, either from moral feeling or probability of detection, are less effective.

Practically the administration of justice in China is described as corrupt and defective in the highest degree; in civil cases the weight of the purses of the parties generally decides the judgment of the magistrate, and even where life is affected there is little chance that the "small still voice" of helplessness suffering unjustly should be heard, in opposition to the dominating tone of official influence and

* The latter clause would in most cases nullify the general enactment.

authority. The custom also of making the prisoner an evidence against himself and compelling confession by torture, is an essential defect in the theory, and must no doubt be liable to the greatest abuses in practice. And, finally, the series of appeals established in Chinese jurisprudence must, by delaying, often operate as a denial of justice.

The absolute authority of parents over their children in China, sanctioned by the laws and readily submitted to in private life, is the great foundation of the despotism of the sovereign: he is the father of his people, therefore the master of their lives, liberties, and property, with no limitation but the supposed natural impulse of paternal affection. His right is indefeasible, and resistance impious; yet public opinion, as already noticed, has a certain influence upon the conduct of the sovereign. The patriarchal principles of the government, though often departed from, are still professed; the Son of Heaven styles the nation his children, not his slaves; even oppresses by a perversion of the law, and not, like his brother

despots of Asia, by the summary execution of the dictates of his caprice, uncontrolled and unaccounted for.

Neither the accounts of the missionaries nor my own observation have enabled me to arrive at any positive conclusion respecting the moral merits of the Chinese. The writings of their philosophers, ancient and modern, abound with maxims of the purest morality, and their laws are professedly founded upon the same principles. I believe, however, that the practice in the one case, as in the other, departs from the theory; the only difference which I could observe in China from other Asiatic countries, was that the exterior of virtue was better maintained.

Our situation was such as to preclude that species of intercourse which leads to acquaintance with the domestic life of the inhabitants, nor indeed has this subject obtained the attention from the missionaries that it deserved. The condition of women in China I should think less degraded and restrained than in Mahomedan countries; they bring no dowry, and are therefore supposed valuable in themselves.

Only one wife, strictly so called, is allowed, and affiancing in tender age is discouraged. On the other hand they are incapable of inheriting immoveable property, and even should there be no male issue *, the husband of the daughter only succeeds to a part. Facilities are also given to divorce, by establishing seven legal causes, barrenness, indecency, habitual disobedience to the parents of the husband, impudent language, disorderly conduct, and disgusting diseases. The permission to re-marry, on application to the proper officer in case of the husband being absent three years, ought perhaps to be thrown into the scale of the privileges possessed by women. These second marriages are, however, negatively discouraged by the honours paid to the memory of widows who have remained single †.

* The being without a male issue is considered so great a misfortune, that every countenance is given by the laws to adoption. The purchase of children for this purpose is not unusual, and the parents of a child so purchased and adopted lose all legal claims upon his services in future.

† By a law of China dating from the reign of Fohi, marriages between persons of the same surname are prohibited.

Slavery exists in China, mitigated, however, as in most other Asiatic countries, by its being almost entirely domestic and seldom prædial; for the latter description of slavery, by sinking men to the level of cattle employed in agriculture, will be generally found productive of excessive labour and consequent inhumanity. It has been already mentioned that the slaves belonging to the palace, either in the service of the Emperor or of the princes, are advanced to high offices; the condition is, however, still considered disgraceful, and the "Son of a Slave" is a common term of abuse.

Although the appeals contained in the imperial edicts to the Téen or universal Creator, combined with the periodical devotions officially paid by the Mandarins to the tablet of Confucius, might, I think, not unreasonably be said to amount to a state-religion *, yet it may be more accurate to consider that the laws of China are on this point confined to an assertion of

* Confucius and other philosophers, in resting their religious doctrines upon the principles of pure theism, professed to revive the ancient religion of China.

the existence of a deity, and that individuals are left to adore the Divine Being or his attributes in what mode, or under what shape they may think fit. The grossest idolatry is the consequence of this toleration, unaccompanied, however, by moral influence, decency of worship, or even serious veneration.

The two principal sects are the followers of Fo and the Tao-tse. The most singular circumstance belonging to the former is their ignorance of the tenets of their founder. The characteristic indifference of the nation upon religious subjects is probably the cause of the majority thus persevering in the grossest worship of idols, with whose attributes and history they are unacquainted. The sect of Tao-tse founded by Lao-kiun in the Tcheou dynasty *, would seem from the accounts of the missionaries, in its origin to have been rather philosophic than religious, and from the recommendation of indifference to worldly affairs to be highly inimical to the well being of a state. The honours paid to the memory of Confucius approach so

* Six hundred years before the Christian æra.

near to religious worship, that his disciples may be said to constitute a sect, in which all the civil functionaries of the empire will be included. Whether the offerings in the hall of Ancestors are to be deemed a religious or civil institution formed the subject of dispute between the Jesuits and Dominicans, and the confirmation of the opinion held by the latter that they were idolatrous, may be said to have accelerated the decay of Christianity in China.

Many of the learned in China have, like the Eclectic philosophers of the Alexandrian school, endeavoured to reconcile what are considered the heresies of the Tao-tse with the purer doctrine of the Kings or sacred books, and with the precepts of Confucius; with what success my ignorance, and I will not pretend to regret it, prevents me from pronouncing: the fact has only attracted my notice as an instance of the similar tendency of the human mind in distant ages and countries *.

* The similarity of the objections urged by the opponents of Christianity in China, to those formerly used by the pagan philosophers, is still more remarkable. They

The inordinate respect for remote antiquity, inculcated and prevalent in China, must have operated as an obstacle to intellectual improvement, and the moderns have consequently made little advance in knowledge: nor do I believe if Tsin-chihoang-ti, the Chinese Omar, had succeeded in destroying all the books in his empire, posterity would have had reason to regret it. Chinese literature still remains a cumbrous curiosity, and a melancholy instance of the unprofitable employment of the human mind for a series of ages.

In the sciences the knowledge of the Chinese is wholly empirical. The manufactures in which they excel are of ancient establishment, and it is singular that their persevering industry should not have suggested improvement, or produced subse-

are chiefly derived from the interference of the new religion with the civil institutions and domestic usages of the empire: the promiscuous assemblage of the sexes in places of public worship, the contempt, abhorrence, and neglect of those public festivals which formed parts of the daily and acknowledged habits of the people, are particularly mentioned in the addresses of the Mandarins; and it was no doubt to diminish this source of objection, that the Jesuits sanctioned the offerings in the hall of Ancestors.

quent invention. The transmutation of metals, which so long deluded the European world, but was not in its consequences wholly useless, is attempted in China, under the name of Fan; and silver is selected by the alchemists as the object of their search. In the Koong-foo, or postures of the Tao-tse, and their supposed influences upon diseases, may be traced a practice something analagous to animal magnetism. Thus, though the Chinese have little of the substance, they are well provided with the shadows of science.

Where, in the scale of nations, are the Chinese to be placed? Are they to be classed with the civilization of the West, or do they belong to the semi-barbarism of the East? Great difficulty will, I think, be found in assigning them either to the one or the other; they are, like their policy, insulated and exclusive. Inferior to Turks, Persians, or Indians, in military knowledge, they infinitely surpass those nations in the arts of peace; and there is a species of vitious regularity in their government, morals, and science, which, while it gives them a claim to positive

civilization, still leaves them far behind those nations, whose title is not to be disputed.

The causes which have rendered China stationary in all that constitutes the greatness of a nation would form a subject of interesting inquiry, but are beyond the limits of the present sketch, and certainly above the reach of the author. It may be conjectured, that the extent of the empire, the barbarism of the neighbouring tribes, and the general infrequency of intercourse with other nations, have mainly contributed to this singular state of political existence: a deeper source may, however, be traced in the very nature of their system of polity and morals, which by early producing a plausible exterior and apparent superiority over other nations, satisfied their rulers and philosophers, and removed, in their opinion, the necessity of attempting improvement at the hazard of disturbing so efficient an establishment. The result has been a continued political aggregation, rather than union; for although the empire has retained the same geographical limits with comparatively trifling

variations, the government has readily passed into different hands. Each succeeding dynasty has, either from interest or conviction, maintained the same civil institutions, and thus conquest, which usually either improves or deteriorates the vanquished, has had little influence upon China: in fact, the maxims of public administration, and the habits of domestic life, are so favourable to despotic rule, that it would require uncommon liberality or obstinacy in a conqueror to risk the permanence of his power, either by calling forth the individual energies of his subjects in attempts at improvement, or rousing them to resistance by an arbitrary subversion of laws and institutions, to which the lapse of ages has given authority and veneration. The causes still operate, modified or aggravated by the character of the reigning Emperor, and to their continuance is to be attributed the correspondence of the most ancient accounts with the actual condition of this peculiar but uninteresting nation.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

[Nos. 1 and 2 are referred to, pages 83, 84.]

Address of the Select Committee to the Foo-yuen, announcing the Embassy, dated May 28th, 1816.

To his Excellency the Foo-yuen and acting Viceroy.

A subject of public and national consideration leads us at present to address your Excellency.

It is no doubt known to your Excellency, that by an Imperial edict bearing date the 6th day of the 11th moon of the 58th year of Kien-Lung, it was signified to his Britannic Majesty's late Embassador, the Earl of Macartney, that it would be agreeable to the Court of Pekin to receive another Embassador from Great Britain, whenever it might suit the convenience of his Britannic Majesty to send one.

We have now the honour to acquaint your Excellency, that we have received advices from England by his Majesty's ship Orlando, just arrived, that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of England (in behalf of his Majesty), has resolved to embrace the present auspicious moment of the happy restoration of peace amongst all the countries in the West, to send an Embassador to his Imperial Majesty, and had appointed the Right Honourable Lord Amherst, a nobleman of high rank and distinction, to that important office.

His Majesty's Embassador, together with his suite and presents, were to sail from England, on board a king's ship, in the month of December, and to proceed directly from thence to the port of Tien-sing, in the Gulf of Pechelee, and may accordingly be expected to arrive early in the course of the ensuing month.

By a ship which sailed in company with his Majesty's ship Orlando, but which is not yet arrived, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, one of his Majesty's Ministers, had addressed your Excellency a letter expressly on this subject, which we shall have the honour of transmitting by a gentleman specially deputed for that service, the moment it arrives; but as the early communication of the intention of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent is of importance, we feel it our duty, in the mean while, to take this mode of submitting the intelligence to your Excellency.

We have therefore to solicit your Excellency to represent this circumstance, without delay, to his Imperial Majesty, and to request his Majesty will be pleased to issue the Imperial orders for the due reception of the British Embassy at the port of Tien-sing, or wherever else on the coast of China it may happen to come, in the course of its progress to the northward.

We have the honour to be,

&c. &c. &c.

Signed by the Committee.

To Pinqua and the other Hong Merchants.

Gentlemen,

We enclose you a letter to the address of his Excellency the Foo-yuen, which we request you will present

without delay. It relates to an Embassador with a letter, presents, and suite, now on their way from England to the port of Tien-sing.

We are, &c. &c. &c.

Signed by the Committee.

No. 2.

Address of the Select Committee to the Foo-yuen, announcing Sir George Staunton's Departure from Macao, dated July, 1816.

To his Excellency the Foo-yuen and acting Viceroy.

We have the honour of acquainting your Excellency, that we have received certain intelligence of the safe arrival of his Britannic Majesty's Embassador, his Excellency Lord Amherst, at Anjier, near Batavia, on board his Majesty's ship Alceste, and that his Excellency is daily expected to pass in the neighbourhood of Macao, on his way to Tien-sing.

We have not yet had official information of the names and rank of the other persons belonging to the embassy, but letters have been received in which it is stated, that our President, Sir George Staunton, has been appointed, by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to the important place of a Commissioner in the embassy.

Under these circumstances it is Sir George Staunton's duty to proceed to sea immediately, to meet his Excellency the moment he arrives upon the coast, in order that his Excellency may not in any case be delayed in this neighbourhood on his account; which, in conse-

quence of the uncertainty of the winds and weather at this season, would be a most hazardous and unpleasant circumstance.

We have the honour to be,
&c. &c. &c.
Signed GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON,
THE. J. METCALF,
JOSEPH COTTON.

No. 3.

[No. 3 referred to, page 88.]

Translation of the Emperor of China's Reply to the Report made to Court by the Viceroy of Canton, respecting the Embassy from his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. Received unofficially, July 12th, 1816.

On the 29th of the 5th moon of the 21st year of Kea-King (June 24th 1816), the following high decree was received at Pekin with profound respect.

Tung, the Viceroy of Canton, and other officers of rank in the province, have forwarded to court a dispatch announcing an embassy with presents*, from England. As the English nation offers presents, and tenders its sincere good-will with feelings and in language respectful and complaisant, it is, doubtless, proper to allow the embassy and presents to enter China, and the ship bear-

* The original word is often translated tribute

ing them to proceed to Teen-tsin, that the Embassador and suite may disembark.

Imperial orders have already been issued to the Viceroy of Pe-che-le, Na-yen-ching, to arrange all affairs on the present occasion in a liberal, gracious, safe, and suitable manner.

The above-mentioned Foo-yuen, and acting Viceroy, with his colleagues, being apprehensive, that at the ports of Teen-tsin and other places on the coast, there were no persons well acquainted with the manners of foreigners, propose to enjoin the Hong merchants to select and appoint two men who understand the foreign character, that one may be sent to the province of Pe-che-le, and the other to Che-kiang, to wait there at the palaces of the Viceroy and Foo-yuen, to be ready to translate when required. This arrangement is extremely good.

As to the foreign officers sent by the King of England *, Captain Clavel, now at Canton, let the Viceroy say to him, "I have reported to the great Emperor the intention of your King to send presents to manifest his sincere good-will, and have now to return thanks to my Sovereign for his consenting that the Embassador from England should proceed to court, where he will assuredly be received, and graciously presented with gifts. The foreign officers above mentioned may, agreeably to our regulations, return home." Let this decree be made known by a woo-lee†, (express).

Respect this.

* The Chinese think the Prince, acting in behalf of his father, actually Emperor or King.

† Express, travelling about one hundred English miles a day.

No. 4. A.

Letter addressed by his Excellency Lord Amherst, to the Emperor of China, dated August 1816.

May it please your Majesty;

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, entertaining the highest veneration for your Imperial Majesty, and being anxious* to improve the relations of amity that so happily subsisted between your illustrious father Kien-Lung, and his venerable parent, has deputed me as his Royal Embassador to your Imperial court, that I might express to you in person these sentiments of his veneration and regard.

The great affairs of empires being best conducted by precedent, his Royal Highness instructed me to approach your Imperial presence with the same outward expressions of respect, that were received by your dignified father Kien-Lung, from the former English Embassador, Lord Macartney, that is to say, to kneel upon one knee and to bow the head, repeating this obeisance the number of times deemed most respectful. I beg leave to represent, that this particular demonstration of veneration from English Embassadors, is only manifested towards your Imperial Majesty, and that I shall consider it the most fortunate circumstance of my life, to be enabled thus to shew my profound devotion to the most potent Emperor in the universe. I venture to hope that your Imperial Majesty will graciously consider the necessity of my obey-

* Proposed alteration by the Chinese, and finally adopted: "To confirm the friendship which your illustrious father, Kien-Lung, manifested towards the King of England."

ing the commands of my Sovereign, and vouchsafe to admit me to your Imperial presence, that I may deliver the letter with which I am charged by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

No. 4.

Translation of an Official Document received from Chang-ta-jin on the 26th of August, 1816.

Outline of the ceremony to be observed on the English Embassador's presenting the peaou-wan*, or official document from his Sovereign.

About three or four of the clock in the morning of that day, arrangements shall be made for the occasion in the great Kwang-ming-teen (palace or hall of light and splendour); certain bands of music shall attend in the hall; there likewise certain Princes and Royal Personages shall assemble, together with the Embassador and his suite. Cushions to sit on shall be placed in the palace.

About five o'clock his Majesty shall, with profound veneration, be requested to put on the dragon-robes, and to ascend the throne in the Palace of Light and Splendour. The Princes, the Royal Personages, and the attendant officers, shall be attired in certain court dresses†.

The great officers of state who attend in the Imperial

* Credentials.

† There are various dresses in use among the Chinese on such occasions, which are not easily described but by a person conversant in these ceremonies.

presence, the Kings and Dukes who attend on his Majesty, shall be arranged in two wings, standing.

The Imperial body guard, in their leopard-tail dresses, shall be drawn up in two wings, within the palace.

When the Princes, Royal Personages, and other officers, are arranged, the band shall strike up the tune of Lung-ping (a glorious subjugation or tranquillity), and the great officers of state shall, with profound veneration, conduct his Majesty to the throne, after which the music shall stop.

When the officers around his Majesty's person have proclaimed the word Péén*, the band shall strike up the tune Che-ping (a tranquil or subjugating sway), and the officer, *Soo*, with Kwang-hwuy, accompanied by an officer of the Lee-poo, and an Imperial astronomer, shall conduct the English Embassador, his deputies and suite, to present, with profound veneration, the Peaou-wân.

They shall enter at the right† hand gate, and proceed to the west side of the passage at the foot of the altar of the Moon, withoutside the Hall of Light and Splendour.

The crier shall proclaim, "Be arranged!" the Embassador and his suite shall arrange themselves in ranks. The crier shall proclaim, "Kneel!" the Embassador and suite shall then kneel, and the music shall stop.

The crier shall proclaim, "Present the Peaou-wan!" The Embassador shall respectfully present it to Ko-lih-che-e-too, who having received it, shall advance by the middle path to the inside of the palace, where, kneeling

* The original is péén, "a whip," or "to whip."

† The left is the most honourable place in the estimation of the Chinese; and as the throne is situated at the north end of the hall, the west is considered the least honourable side.

at Tee-ping* (on the level ground), he shall offer it up to the officer Meen-gan, who, having received it, shall ascend by the middle steps to the Imperial presence, and, kneeling, present it to his Majesty.

After this the officer Soo, and the others, shall conduct the Embassador and suite through the western folding door to the inside of the palace; where, at Tee-ping, they shall kneel down, and wait till his Imperial Majesty confers upon the King of their country a Joo-ee†. The officer, Meen-gan, shall receive it, and deliver it to the Embassador, putting authoritatively also such questions as his Majesty may direct. These forms being over, Soo shall conduct the Embassador and suite out by the same door at which they entered: at the outside of the door, Soo shall respectfully take charge of the Joo-ee for the Embassador, and then, as before, lead the persons of the embassy to the west side of the altar of the Moon. The crier shall proclaim, "Be arranged!" all the persons shall arrange themselves, and the music shall strike up. It shall next be proclaimed, "Advance and kneel!" The Embassador and suite shall all advance and kneel. The crier shall proclaim, "Bow the head to the ground and arise!" The Embassador and suite shall then, looking towards the upper end of the palace, perform the ceremony of thrice kneeling‡ and nine times bowing the head to the ground; this ceremony being ended, the music shall stop; the Princes and Royal Personages, who are permitted to sit, shall conduct the Embassador and suite

* Tee-ping is probably a lower area.

† A white stone, in form not unlike a soup-ladle, of the agate species. The term Joo-ee implies, "as you wish."

‡ This is not merely the ko-tou, but a repetition of it, in Chinese, called San-kwei-keu-kou.

(to a place behind) the western line of persons, where they shall perform the ceremony of kneeling * and bowing to the ground once, and then sit down.

His Majesty shall then have tea† introduced, the Princes, the Embassador, and suite, shall kneel and bow the head to the ground once: after his Majesty has drank tea they shall return to their seats.

The attending officer shall then confer on all who sit in the palace nae-cha (milk tea) for which all shall perform the ko-tou once. After drinking the tea they shall also perform it.

The immediate attendants on his Majesty shall then proclaim the word Pëën, and the Princes, the Embassador, and suite, shall rise up; the same word shall next be thrice proclaimed below the steps, and the band shall strike up the tune Hien-ping (subjugation or tranquillity manifested), during which his Majesty shall withdraw to the inner apartments, and the music shall stop.

The Princes, the Embassador and suite, shall all retire. Soo and Kwang-hwuy shall lead the Embassador and suite to the outside of Tung-lo-yuen (the Garden of Social Pleasure) to wait for his Majesty's arrival; and after he has sat down, they shall be conducted to the western piazza to see a play, and to receive the food and presents to be bestowed by his Majesty.

* It does not appear that any Chinese joined in the above prostration.

† His Majesty alone drinks tea.

No. 5.

Ceremonies to be observed at the Audience of Leave.

On the day that the English Embassador takes leave, music and cushions shall be placed in the Hall of Light and Splendour (as on the two preceding occasions).

About five o'clock in the morning his Majesty shall be most respectfully requested to put on the Imperial dragon-robes, and to ascend the Hall of Light and Splendour. The Princes, the Royal Personages, the Dukes, &c. shall be arranged in two wings withinside the hall, in the same manner as at the presentation. Whilst the band plays "a glorious subjugation," his Majesty shall ascend the throne.

Soo and Kwang shall conduct the Embassador and suite, as on the first occasion, to the west side of the passage by the altar of the Moon, where, at the word given, they shall arrange themselves in order. It shall then be proclaimed "Kneel!" the Embassador and his suite shall kneel, and wish his Majesty repose. Soo and the others shall then lead the Embassador through the western folding partition door to the level area within the hall, where he shall kneel down and wait till his Majesty himself confers upon the King of his country court beads and a purse. Meen-gan shall receive them, and deliver them to the Embassador, and also communicate, authoritatively, such orders as his Majesty may be pleased to direct on dismissing the Embassador.

This being ended, Soo, &c. shall conduct the Embassador out at the western folding door to withoutside the hall, where Soo shall take in charge for the Embassador

the beads and purse, and then conduct him as before to the west side of the altar of the Moon. On the word "Be arranged" being proclaimed, the Embassador and suite shall arrange themselves standing: the crier shall proclaim, "Advance and kneel!" the Embassador and suite shall advance and kneel. It shall be proclaimed, "Bow the head to the ground and arise!" The Embassador and suite shall then, toward the upper part of the hall, perform the ceremony of san-kwei-kew-kow (thrice kneeling and nine times bowing the head to the ground), and the music shall stop. The Princes, &c. shall next conduct the Embassador and suite to behind the western row of persons, where they shall perform the ceremony once and sit down.

Whilst his Majesty takes tea, the Princes, &c. with the Embassador and suite, shall arise from their seats, kneel and perform the ceremony once. After his Majesty has drank tea, they shall again approach their places and sit down. The attendants shall then confer tea upon the Princes, the Embassador, and the rest, for which, before and after drinking, they shall perform an act of reverence. They shall then stand up, and the music shall play "subjugation manifested." Whilst his Majesty retires to the interior of the palace the music shall stop, and the Princes, Embassador, and suite shall go out.

No. 6.

Extract from the Pekin Gazette of the 13th Day of the 7th Moon of the 21st of Kea-king, September 4, 1816.

IMPERIAL EDICT.

Upon the present occasion of the English nation sending Envoys with tribute (valuable offerings) as they could not, when at Tien-sing, return thanks for the feast agreeably to the regulated form, the conducting them again to their boats, for the purpose of proceeding further north, was the fault of Soo-ling-yue and Kwang-hwuy.

When they were at Tong-chou, and had not yet practised the ceremony, the framing a confused and indistinct report, and then conducting them at once to court, was the fault of Ho-she-tay and Moo-ke-ling-yih.

Lastly, on the 7th day, I, the Emperor, issue my orders, and having ascended into the Imperial Hall, called the Envoys to an audience; but the Envoys and suite had travelled from Tong-chow all night, and had come direct to the palace gate without stopping by the way at their appointed residence, and their dresses of ceremony not having arrived, they could not present themselves before me. If, at that time, Ho-she-tay had addressed to me a true report, I, the Emperor, would certainly have issued my commands, and have changed the period of the audience, in order to correspond with their intentions, in thus coming ten thousand lees to my court.

On the contrary, he addressed me repeated reports, expressed in disrespectful language; in consequence of which, the Envoys were sent back, and the ceremonial

could not be completed. The error and mismanagement of Ho-she-tay in this affair, is a fault which is really inexcusable.

But the arrangements for the business of the day were already made, excepting the minister, To-tsin, who was absent from illness, and Tong-kao and Leu-yin-po, whose attendance had not been required. All the assisting Princes, Dukes, and great officers of state, as well as all the great officers of the palace, were in waiting in the anti-chambers; many of them must have been eye-witnesses of the whole affair, and must have known, in their hearts, that it was their duty to make a true report of it to me, and to have solicited me to alter the period of the audience; yet they sat immoveable while the affair was thus going wrong. Though Ho-she-tay was visibly alarmed and in error, no one stood forward to set him right.

Afterwards, when the Imperial audience took place, some persons who knew the truth disclosed Ho-she-tay's errors and irresolution, but why did they not address me at the time in his stead? or if they dared not go that length, why did they not, at least, awaken Ho-she-tay, and cause him to report the truth? Thus it is that their countenances are, indeed, always placid and composed; but when public business occurs, they sit unmoved, and see its failure with indifference. Such conduct, whenever placed in any situation of hazard or difficulty, one cannot behold without sighing deeply.

The affair in which Ho-she-tay has erred, is, in itself, a very small one; yet, even in this, the officers of the court have been found destitute of any expedient for the service of their country. For the future, let them eradicate all selfish principles, whenever there is any defect of

fidelity or public spirit; let no one plead that it is an affair that does not individually concern him. Let all look up diligently, regulate their conduct according to the true spirit of the admonitions I have repeatedly given them.

Respect this.

No. 8.

Translation of an Imperial Edict addressed to the Viceroy of Kiang-nan, respecting Treatment of Embassy, received October 8, 1816.

His Majesty's pleasure, as follows, has been received with feelings of respect.

On the day that the English Embassador came to the gate of the palace, he said he was sick, and could not attend an Imperial audience. It was afterwards discovered, on an investigation being made, that the said Embassador had travelled during the night from Tung-chow to Pekin, and when he reached the gate of the palace, the court dresses which they* brought with them were still on the road, and he dared not perform the ceremony in their ordinary clothes, and therefore sickness was affirmed. Ho-she-tay did not report clearly the fact, that the time appointed for the audience might be changed, and the ceremony performed; that was an error committed by Ho-she-tay in a direct address to me, which led to sending back the Embassy on the same day.

* In orig. plural.

I, considering that the said nation had sent a tribute of sincere and entire devotedness from beyond a vast ocean of the distance of thousands of miles *, could not bear to reject the expression of veneration and obedience; hence again, I sent down my pleasure, requiring that the most trifling articles of the tribute should be presented, and the kindness conferred of receiving them. They were maps, painted likenesses, and prints, three articles. At the same time I conferred upon the King of the said country a white precious Joo-ee, sapphire court beads, and different sized purses, to manifest † the idea of giving much and receiving little. The Embassador received them at Tung-chow with extreme joy and gratitude, and also, rather shewed, by his manner, contrition and fear.

Of late, within the limits of Che-le, or province of Pekin, he has walked about (or travelled) very peaceably and quietly; hereafter, when he shall enter the limits of the Kiang, let the Viceroy enjoin all the officers who conduct the embassy still to behave with the civilities due to an Embassador; they must not allow themselves to behave with insult or contempt. The Embassador will in a few days arrive at the boundaries of the Kiang. The three provinces Kiang-soo, Gan-hwuy, and Kiang-see, are under the control of the appropriate Viceroy; let that Viceroy communicate information respecting this to the several Foo-yuens of three provinces. When the embassy enters the limits of the province, let him select civil and military officers, who may take under their command soldiers and police runners to conduct safely the embassy. Do not cause the persons of the embassy to land to make disturbance, through the whole of the route. Let the

* Orig. 10,000 lees.

† A common expression, taken from ancient writers.

military be all caused to have their armour fresh and shining, and their weapons disposed in a commanding manner, to maintain an attitude formidable and dignified.

The said embassy came with the intention of offering tribute; still treat it with civility, and silently cause it to feel gratitude and awe; then the right principles of soothing and controlling will be acted on.

No. 9.

Translation of a Paper issued in the Form of a Proclamation, addressed to the native Chinese at Ta-tung, in the Province of Gan-hwuy, respecting the British Embassy, dated 5th Nov. 1816.

On the 4th of the 9th moon (Oct. 24) a letter was received from the Seun-taou (a civil officer), on opening which it read as follows:

On the 29th of the 8th moon (Oct. 19) a document was received from the Chen-taou, saying, on the 23d of the 7th moon (Sept. 14) was received with due respect a communication from the noble Viceroy Pê, on opening which it appeared as follows:

"The English tribute-bearer is returning to his country through the interior (of China) by water; Kwang, the salt commissioner at Tien-sin, is appointed by Imperial authority to take the oversight and management (of the embassy) through the whole of the journey. It is also appointed that the treasurer, judge, and major-general of each province be on the boundary of the province,

to receive, escort, watch, and restrain (the persons of the embassy).

"When the boats being up at any landing-place, or a change of boats takes place, let there be a numerous party of police runners appointed, and required to clothe themselves in the jackets bearing the badge of their office; let them join with the military to prevent the populace from coming to gaze, and thereby cause a crowd and clamorous noise; let there be a special oversight and restraint kept up to prevent the loss of any thing. The populace on each bank of the river are not allowed to laugh and talk with the foreigners, nor are women and girls allowed to shew their faces.

"Further, foreign envoys coming to China are by law prohibited from purchasing books or other articles.

"On this occasion the envoys bearing tribute, travelling by water to the south, are not allowed any one of them to land at the places which they pass, nor are they allowed privately (or clandestinely) to make purchases of any commodities. On every occasion let care be taken to prevent it. If any of the boatmen dare to purchase for them any books, victuals, or other necessaries, they shall be immediately seized and severely punished."

The above coming before me, the *Heen* *, it is incumbent upon me to issue a proclamation to make the subject fully known to the military and people. When the tribute-envoy's boats come to any place, you, people, are not allowed to look and gaze so as thereby to cause a crowd and clamorous noise, nor are you allowed to talk with the foreign envoys. It is still more necessary that women and girls should retire; they are not allowed to

* The magistrate superintending a quarter of a city, or an arondissement of villages.

expose their faces, nor go out and look about them. If any dare wilfully to disobey this, they shall be instantly seized and punished: decidedly no indulgence shall be shewn.

A special Edict.

No. 10.

Translation of an Imperial Edict, dated the 15th Day of the 7th Moon of the 21st Year (6th Sept. 1816) of Kea-King, addressed to the Viceroy Tsiang and the Foo-yuen Tung of Canton, received the 5th of the 8th Moon (25th Sept.)

The English Embassadors, upon their arrival at Tien-sin, have not observed the laws of politeness in return for the invitation of the Emperor. At Tung-chow (four leagues from the court), they gave assurances of readiness to perform the prostration and genuflexion required by the laws of good manners of the country, and arrived at the Imperial country-house (half a league from court); and when we were upon the point of repairing to the hall to receive the embassy, the first as well as the second Embassador, under pretence of ill health, would not appear. We in consequence passed a decree that they should be sent away upon their return. We, however, reflecting that although the said Embassadors were blameable in not observing the laws of politeness, towards the Sovereign of their country, who from an immense distance, and over various seas, had sent to offer us presents, and to present with respect his letters, indicating

a wish to shew us due consideration and obedience, contempt was improper, and against the maxim to shew lenity to our inferiors; in consequence, from amongst the presents of the said King we chose the most trifling and insignificant, which are four maps, two portraits, ninety-five engravings; and in order to gratify him have accepted them. We in return, as a reward, presented to the said King a *Yu-Yu*, a string of rare stones, two pairs of large purses, and four pairs of small ones; and we order the Embassadors to receive these gifts, and to return to their kingdom: having so enacted in observance of the maxim of Confucius, "give much, receive little."

When the Embassadors received the said gifts they became exceedingly glad, and evinced their repentance. They have already quitted Tong-chow: upon their arrival at Canton, you, Tsiung and Tung, will invite them to dinner in compliance with good manners, and will make the following speech to them:

"Your good fortune has been small: you arrived at the gates of the imperial house, and were unable to lift your eyes to the face of Heaven (the Emperor.)

"The great Emperor reflected that your King sighed after happiness (China), and acted with sincerity. We therefore accepted some presents, and gifted your King with various precious articles. You must return thanks to the Emperor for his benefits, and return with speed to your kingdom, that your King may feel a respectful gratitude for these acts of kindness. Take care to embark the rest of the presents with safety, that they may not be lost or destroyed."

After this lecture should the Embassador supplicate you to receive the remainder of the presents: answer, in one word a decree has passed, we therefore dare not pre-

sent troublesome petitions, and with decision you will rid yourself of them.

Respect this.

This edict was received through the medium of the Portuguese.

No. 11.

Paper respecting the Embassy, drawn up by the Emperor.

A Vermillion Edict (is a paper written by the Emperor's own hand) has been respectfully received, and is as follows:

On this occasion, the English Embassadors, sent to convey tribute, landed at the mouth of the river leading to Tien-tsin: it was specially ordered that Soo-ling-yih and Kwang-hwuy should communicate authoritatively the Imperial pleasure that a banquet should be conferred, and he the Embassador be ordered to return thanks for the banquet, by performing the ceremony of three kneelings and nine knocks of the head upon the ground. If it were performed according to the prescribed rule, then to bring the embassy to Pekin the same day. If the Embassador did not know how to perform the ceremony, then to report to the Emperor, and wait his pleasure. Their ships were not to be caused to depart; they were to return from Tien-tsin by the way they came, and to return to their country by sea. Soo-ling-yih and Kwang-hwuy purposely acted contrary to the Imperial pleasure, and brought onward the embassy; and they connived at the ships going away in a clandestine manner. Because the affair was not yet settled Ho-she-tae and Moo-kih-

tang-yih were ordered to go and meet the embassy at Teng-chow, and there exercise them in the ceremony.

To the 6th day of the 7th moon was the period limited. If within this period they performed the ceremony, then to bring them forward immediately; if when the time was elapsed they had still not observed the proper forms, then to report to the Emperor, and wait for his pleasure.

On the 5th Ho-she-tae and Moo-kih-tang-yih sent a confused and obscure report, and on the 6th brought forward the embassy.

I, the Emperor, at half past one o'clock descended to the Kin-chin-teen (hall of diligent government), and called these two men to an interview to interrogate them respecting the performance of the ceremony. These two pulled off their caps, and dashed their heads against the ground*, saying, the ceremony had not yet been practised. When they were again asked, "Since the ceremony was not performed, why did you not report?" Ho-she-tae said, To-morrow morning when they enter to see your majesty, they must be able to perform agreeably to the proper form.

In this the fault of these two men was the same as, or equal to, those who preceded them. On the morning of the 7th, after breakfast, at half past five o'clock, I, the Emperor, dictated my pleasure that I would ascend the hall and call the Embassador to an audience.

Ho-she-tae the first time reported to me that the Embassador could not travel fast; when he arrived at the gate my pleasure should be again requested. The next time he reported the principal Embassador was ill; a

* By these acts confession and deep contrition are expressed.

short delay was necessary. The third time he reported that the principal Embassador was so ill he could not come to an interview. I then ordered that the principal Embassador should go to his lodgings, and a physician be conferred upon him to effect his cure; I then ordered the assistant Embassadors to enter to an interview. The fourth time Ho reported that the assistant Embassadors were both sick, that it must be deferred till the principal Embassador was recovered, and then they would come together to an interview.

Chung-kwo (China, the central nation) is the sovereign of the whole world! For what reason should contumely and arrogance like this be endured with quiet temper?

I therefore sent down my pleasure to expel these Embassadors, and send them back to their own country, without punishing the high crime they had committed.

As before, Soo-ling-yih and Kwang-hwuy were ordered to escort them to Canton on board their ships.

Within these few days, having called my courtiers to an interview, I began to find out that the Embassador had travelled from Tong-chow directly to a room of the palace, and that he had been on the road all night. He said, "the court dresses in which to enter and see his Majesty are yet behind: they have not come up yet, how can I in my ordinary garments lift up my eyes to the great Emperor?"

Why did not Ho-she-tae when he saw me state these circumstances? or if he forgot, why did he not during the evening add to what he had before reported, or the next day state it early? All these ways he might have taken; but to the last moment, when I was about to ascend the Hall of Audience, he never stated clearly these circum-

stances. The crime of these two men (Ho and Moo) is heavier than that of Soo-ling.

Had they previously stated matters clearly to me, I must have changed the time for calling the Embassador to an interview, and for his completing the ceremony: I never supposed that a stupid statesman would injure affairs to this extent. I, the Emperor, have really not the face, am ashamed to appear before the ministers beneath me, who are labourers for the state. It only remains for me to take blame to myself.

As for the crime of these four men, when the board has deliberated and sent up their opinion, I shall decide.

Take this Imperial declaration, and proclaim it fully to those within China and beyond it. Let the Mung-Koo, Kings, Dukes, and so forth, know it.

Respect this.

No. 12.

Substance of Imperial Edicts inflicting Punishments on Soo, Ho, and Kwang.

One edict is published to deprive Soo of his situation as president of the board of works, a generalship he held in the army, and to pluck out his peacock's feather: he is reduced to a button of the third rank. The board to which his case was referred decreed he should be reduced to the fifth rank, and laid aside. His Majesty, however, by special favour, has retained him to superintend the Emperor's tea and provisions, and in charge of the gar-

dens of Yuen-min-yuen. If he behaves well in eight years he may be restored *.

Another edict sentences Ho to forfeit the sum allowed him as Duke for five years. The board decreed that the title of Duke should be taken from him, as well as the important situations he held; however, his Majesty, by a special act of grace, retains his title and his private duties in the palace. His yellow riding jacket is taken from him.

Moo, from age and inability, is laid aside entirely.

Kwang is reduced, as appears from these edicts, to a secretary of the eighth rank, and to be sent to Man-chow Tartary next spring to officiate there.

No. 13.

Duke Ho's Report from Tong-chow.

His Majesty's edict has been respectfully received, and is as follows:

Ho-she-tae has stated to his Majesty that the English tribute-bearer is daily practising the ceremony, and manifests the highest possible respect and veneration.

The said nation, separated by a vast ocean, offers up a sincere tribute of profound respect and veneration. Tribute was first sent in the 58th year of Kien-lung; and now prostrate she sends an Embassador to court to offer presents with respect worthy of high commendation.

* Soo is at present upwards of seventy years of age.

To-day Ho-she-tae and Moo-kih-tang-yih have brought the Embassadors to the house at Hae-teen.

It is ordered that on the 7th he be admitted to an interview, &c. &c. (exactly the same as in the Vermillion Edict *), and on the 12th be ordered home.

* Name given to a proclamation in the Emperor's own hand.

ITINERARY

OF THE

ROUTE OF THE EMBASSY

FROM

TA-KOO TO PEKIN, AND FROM THENCE TO CANTON.

1816.

Aug. 9. Tung-koo, (right bank), entered the Pei-ho.
Ta-koo, (right bank).

10. See-koo, (right bank).
Tung-jun-koo.

12. Tien-sing, (left bank), 240 or 80.

14. Pe-tang.
Anchorage, 56, 19.

15. Yang-soong, (91 lees from Tien-sing).

16. Tsae-tsung, (60 miles from Pekin).

20. Tong-chow, (right bank).

29. Pekin.

30. Tong-chow.

Sept. 2. Left Tong-chow.

4. Khu-shee-yoo.

5. Tsae-tsung.

6. Tien-sing.

8. Left Tien-sing, and entered the Eu-ho.
Yang-leu-ching, 35, 12.

9. Tool-sey-a.

1816.

Sept. 10. Shing-shi-hien.

Tong-quang-tong, 20 to 30.

11. Tsing-hien, (200 lees or 60 miles from Tien-sing).

12. Shing-tchee.

Tsong-chow, (left bank, 80 or 24 from Tsing-hien).

13. Tchuan-ho.

14. Pu-hien, belong to Nan-pee-shien, 80.

15. Tung-quan-hien, (right bank).

Lien-hien.

16. Sang-yuen, (province of Chelee here terminates).

18. Te-choo.

19. Sze-na-sze.

Koo-ching-shien.

20. Chen-ja-khoo.

Cha-ma-shien, (30 lees from last).

21. Woo-chang-hien.

Tsing-keea-khoo.

22. Yoo-fang or Yoo-fa-wih.

Lin-chin-chow, (enter the canal called Cha-kho).

23. Wei-keea-wan.

Luang-chah-chin.

24. Tong-chang-foo, (left bank).

25. Shee-chee-tee.

Woo-chien-chen.

Chang-shoo, (90 lees from Tong-chang-foo).

26. Tee-cha-mee-wih.

Gan-shien-chin, (61 lees from Chang-shoo).

27. Chen che-kho.

Yuan-cha-kho.

Leu-leu-kho, (Wang-ja-kho falls into the canal).

28. Kei-kho-chin, (6 miles from hence the Wun-kho joins the canal).

Za-chang-kho.

Kho-tsu-wan.

29. See-ning-choo, (E. bank).

1816.

ept. 29. Toong-koong-see.

Nang-yang-chin.

30. Ma-ja-khoo.

See-ya-chin.

Oct. 1. Shee-wan-chin, (entered district of Shan-tung).

Shi-tze-kho, or cross rivers.

Han-chang-chuan, (70 lees from See-ya-chin.)

2. Leu-leu-cha.

Ta-ur-chuan.

4. Yow-wan.

Wan-ja-kho.

Shoo-ching-shien.

5. Seao-quang-kho.

Tsing, or Choong-ching-tsin.

6. Yang-tcha-chuan.

Cross the Yellow river.

Matou.

7. Tien-pa-cha.

Koo-khou.

Tsing-kiang-poo, (20 lees from the Yellow river).

8. Entered canal called Lekho.

Khoo-choo-ya, the principal suburb of Hwooee-gan-foo, (E. bank to Poo-yang-hien is 80 lees).

9. Poo-yang-shien.

Fan-shwuy.

Shew-kwuy.

Kou-yoo.

10. Shou-poo.

Wy-ya-poo, (20 lees from Yang-choo-foo.)

Yang-choo-foo.

11. Kao-ming-sze.

14. Left ditto.

Woo-yuen, (garden).

Kwa-choo.

1816.

Oct. 19. Left Kwa-choo, and entered the Yang-tse-keang, then followed a branch called Quang-jee-kiang.

Kwang-jee.

20. I-ching-hien.

21. Pa-tou-shan.

Yin-jee-shan.

Poo-kou-shien, (left bank).

Suburbs of Nankin, (or Kian-ning-foo).

24. Left ditto.

Kiang-poo-hien.

Swan-che-tze.

25. Halted.

26. Chee-ma-hoo, (right bank, enter province of Gan-whuy), 70.

27. Chen-yu-szu, 20.

Ho-chow, (left bank, 3 miles inland)

28. Halted.

29. Tay-ping-foo, (inland).

Passed on our right the mouth of the Neu-pa-kho, leading to Kan-shan-shien, distant fifty lees.

Tung-lang-shan.

See-lang-shan.

30. See-ho-shan, 5.

Woo-hoo-hien.

31. Laou-kan, (right bank).

Shen-shan-ja, (ditto). 9.

Lan-shan-kya, (left bank).

Mouth of the Chao-ho, (80 lees from Woo-hoo-hien).

Kwuy-loong Temple.

Fan-chong-chou-hien.

Pan-tze-chow.

Tee-kiang, (day's journey, 90).

Nov. 1. Tsoo-shah-chin, 30.

1816.

Nov. 1. Tsing-kya-chin, (day's journey, 40.)

2. Toong-ling-hien, 20.

Ta-tung-chin, 20.

3. Halted.

4. Ditto.

5. Ditto.

7. Ma-poo-lean.

Pagoda of Chee-choo-foo.

Woo-sha-kya, 80 or 100.

8. Halted.

9. Ho-chuan, (30 lees from Gan-kin-foo).

Gan-kin-foo.

10. Tung-lew-shien.

Wha-yuen-chin.

11. Halted.

12. Wan-jan-hien.

Ma-tung-shan.

Seaou-koo-shan.

Pang-tse-hien.

13. Ching-yang-miao.

14. Hoo-koo-hien.

Pa-li-kiang, (here the river branches off to the right; quit the Yang-tse-keang, 950 lees, or 285 from where we entered it; enter the Po-yang-hoo.

Ta-koo-shan, or Ho-ya-ee-shan.

Ta-koo-tang, 90.

15. Halted.

16. King-shan, 5.

Nan-kang-foo.

17. Halted.

18. Ditto.

19. Ditto.

20. Soo-chee, 45.

Woo-chin, (quit the Po-yang), 45.

1816.

Nov. 21. Entered the Seaou-chah, afterwards called Shan-chou-kho, and finally Shang-kho.

Wang-chin, 90.

22. Chou-shah, 40.

Entered the Sing-chou-kho.

23. Nan-chang-foo, 30.

24. Halted.

25. Ditto.

26. Ditto.

27. Left ditto, and entered the Kan-kho.

Chee-cha-tang.

28. Fung-ling-hien, 60.

29. Seang-ko-keu.

Chang-shoo.

Lin-kiang-ko keu, 70.

Lin-kiang-foo, (20 lees inland).

30. Ysanda.

Ta-yin-chow, (an island) 30.

Sha-koo.

Sho-kou-tang.

Sing-kan-shien.

Dec. 1. Kya-poo.

2. Tjin-ho.

Kia-kiang-hien, 60.

Mon-cha-ming Pagoda.

Foo-koo-tang, 40.

3. Ky-shwuy-hien, 40.

Tay-chew.

Ky-gan-foo.

4. Tang-kou-too.

Wang-kan, 90.

5. Ta-ho-hien.

Tang-shan-kou, opposite to

Tcho-ko-chow, (an island).

1816.

Dec. 5. Paou-tou.

6. Pe-tcha-tung, (on our left), 90.

Lo-ka-wang.

Wan-gan-hien.

7. Commence passing the Cataracts.

Woo-tszu, 70.

Kwein-ling, 10.

8. Leang-kou.

See-chow, 60.

9. Yu-tung.

See-ya-chow, (an island).

Tien-see-tu.

Ling-ting-miao, (day's journey, 30.)

10. Tien-su-tan.

Sing-miao-tsun.

Chou-tan.

Kan-choo-foo.

11. Halted.

12. Woo-tang, 40.

Nean-ming.

13. San-kiang-kou, (20 lees from anchorage.)

Anchorage, 40.

14. Nan-gan-hien, 41.

15. Anchorage, 40.

16. Sin-chin-tang, 20.

Witang, (65 lees from Nan-gan-foo.)

17. Anchorage, 30.

18. Nan-kang-foo.

19. Halted.

20. Left ditto.

Cross the Mee-ling pass.

Choong-chun, 50.

See-tang, 30.

Nan-heung-foo, 40.

21. Halted.

1816.

Dec. 22. Left Nan-heung-foo.

23. Lee-ping.

Shwuy-Toong, (180 lees from Chao-choo-foo.)

24. Chee-hing-kiang-keu.

Shwuy-king.

Anchorage, (90 lees from Chao-choo-foo.)

25. Chen-Tsou, or

La-shoo-shan.

Woo-ma-tou.

Chao-choo-foo.

26. Halted.

27. Left ditto, and entered the Pe-kiang.

Sa-choo-ya, 180.

28. Kwan-yin-shan, 40.

Yin-ta-hien, 30.

29. Anchorage, 30.

30. Fa-keung-haou.

Sing-yuen-hien, (290 lees from Canton.)

31. Laou-pu-sze.

San-shwuy-hien.

1817.

Jan. 1. Canton.

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